

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Lynch mob terror mounts in Chicago

Black leaders demand troops to protect schoolchildren

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—A September 11 antibusing rally of more than 1,000 whites erupted into a racist rampage here and the near lynching of a Black man driving his car through the Bogan Park area of Chicago's southwest side.

The lynch-mob attack marked a sharp escalation of violence by white racists determined to halt a limited school desegregation plan begun this fall.

In response to the attacks, Black leaders here are demanding troops to push back the racists and protect the Black and Latino children participating in the voluntary transfer plan to all-white schools in Bogan Park.

The attempted lynching occurred after antibusing leaders at the evening rally had whipped the racists into a frenzy. White hooligans surrounded the car of Michael Smith, a twenty-three-year-old shipping clerk, screaming, "Here's a nigger, let's kill him!" They smashed his car windows, hit him, and tried to pull him out.

Fearing for his life, Smith drove around the crowd, accidentally striking three people. After his escape from the would-be Lynchers, Smith approached police for help. They told him to go to a nearby police station. Before he got there, other cops pulled him over, handcuffed him, and arrested him on charges of reckless driving and leaving the scene of an accident!

Racist youths and adults also set fire to effigies of school officials and attacked other Black motorists. Cops arrested only a few of the thugs that night, one for holding a rally without a permit and others for disorderly conduct.

The escalation of violent opposition to Black transfer students began at Adlai Stevenson School Friday afternoon, September 9, two days after schools opened. Fifty jeering white women mobbed the school's exit. They forced the Black children to pass through a gauntlet and shouted racist epithets and obscenities. Then they surrounded the bus, holding the Black students captive. They pounded on the sides of the bus, warning the students

not to return.

A Black minister observing the students' departure on behalf of Operation PUSH was chased several blocks by the mob.

No effort was made by the cops to stop the assault. No arrests were made.

The violence continued on Sunday night and again the next evening, with gangs of white thugs attacking Black motorists in Bogan Park. Five Blacks were injured.

On Tuesday, September 13, 300 white Bogan High School students walked out of school in protest against the transfer plan and began blocking traffic. They hurled rocks at police and hurled racial epithets and threats at the Black cops.

Thirty-one students were arrested and all 300 were suspended for three days.

That same afternoon a mob of 400 white bigots gathered at Stevenson elementary school. This time, after strong protests by Operation PUSH, the cops kept the crowd across the street and away from the students as they got onto their buses. After the buses left, the mob chased a car of Black motorists and a truck driven by a Black man making a delivery.

In response to Sunday's racist terror, Democratic Mayor Michael Bilandic tried to downplay the seriousness of the attacks. The remarks of Bilandic, who has often stated his opposition to busing, signaled a go-ahead to the racists.

"I don't think we should try to build this thing up into anything of major significance," Bilandic said. "We have had a peaceful and uneventful opening [of schools]. This occurrence . . . was probably a matter of someone not getting a permit . . . and not [a sign] of any real hostility."

The fight by Blacks here for an equal education has been a long, bitter battle, and one with major implications for desegregation efforts in other cities. Chicago schools are among the most segregated in the country. Half the schools are at least 95 percent Black.

While the city has been ordered to



CHICAGO—Racist opponents of school desegregation have terrorized Blacks entering all-white neighborhoods. Above, bigots burn state and city school officials in effigy.

devise a "comprehensive desegregation plan" by next March, racist opposition has thus far prevented more than a limited transfer plan this fall.

Henderson Elementary School is a good example of why desegregation is needed here. The school is about 97 percent Black. It is overcrowded. The 1,560 students are jammed into a building designed for less than half that number. Many students must study in mobile classrooms outside the main building.

By contrast, students participating in the transfer plan are bused to mostly white schools, where the enrollments range from 500 to 600 students in buildings the same size as Henderson.

The voluntary transfer system only involves one-half of one percent of the students in the school system. But even this minimal desegregation effort has enraged white bigots, who hope that, by stopping the current transfers,

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Carter bars Hugo Blanco

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NEW ATTACK ON COAL MINERS: Not satisfied with slashing coal miners' medical benefits, the coal mine operators now threaten to cut pensions as well.

The operators provoked a strike when the board that administers health benefits claimed it was running out of money. Miners were forced to begin paying as much as \$500 a year out of their own pockets for medical care.

Now the board that runs the pension fund claims that the strike over the medical benefits has depleted the pension fund, so that some benefits will be cut or deferred.

REVEAL WIRETAP ON FRANKFURTER'S HOME: Massachusetts records released to writer Lincoln Robbins September 12 showed that the state had wiretapped the home phone of Felix Frankfurter, a defender of Sacco and Vanzetti, for two months in 1927.

Frankfurter, then a professor at Harvard law school, was a leader in the effort to save the lives of the two anarchists falsely convicted of murder. He was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1939.

The tap began August 9 and continued to October 3, even though Sacco and Vanzetti were executed August 23.

No reason has been suggested for the wiretaps.

Zilly's supporters have organized a campaign to get his name on the September 20 ballot.

A letter signed by Pierce County ACLU Chairperson Thomas Leach and others declares, "We do not believe that this residency requirement in any way reflects on Mr. Zilly's qualifications to run for or to hold the office of mayor. We think it is the right of the voters of Tacoma to decide whether he or any other candidate is qualified to be their mayor."

SCORE TWO FOR GAY RIGHTS: The Wichita, Kansas, City Commission passed a bill September 7 forbidding discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment, and public accommodations. Opponents have threatened to undertake a petition campaign to reverse the bill.

Meanwhile, the federal Civil Rights Commission agreed it had the power to look into specific cases of unequal administration of justice against gays.

BLACKS BOYCOTT SEX-SEGREGATED SCHOOLS: Virtually all the 2,000 Black students in the Amite County, Mississippi school system have stayed out of classes since school began August 30, because the schools are segregated by sex.

The system was ordered desegregated in 1969, and the white majority school board responded by assigning males to one school and females to another.

Robert Wilson, the only Black member of the school board, said that the scheme was aimed at preventing "Black males and white females from having any contact" in classroom situations.

The federal government allowed the plan as an "interim" proposal, but hasn't seen fit to revise it after seven years.

The Justice Department is "monitoring" the situation.

ISRAELI ANTI-ZIONIST TO SPEAK: Dr. Israel Shahak, chairman of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, will open a national speaking tour in New York City on Saturday, September 17, at a conference sponsored by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates. The conference will be held at 777 UN Plaza.

For more information about Shahak's tour, or about the conference, contact the association at 777 UN Plaza, Suite 7F, New York, New York 10017, or call (212) 490-3654.

—Arnold Weissberg

Fla. sets execution

By Arnold Weissberg

Sept. 14—The state of Florida has quietly scheduled an execution for Monday, September 19. Gov. Reubin Askew signed the death warrant for John Spinkellink on September 12.

A state circuit judge turned down a request for a delay in the execution. But attorneys for the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund are appealing to the Florida Supreme Court and the U.S. District Court.

Spinkellink's attorney said he would fight all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Death penalty opponents have set two protests. Miami-Dade Citizens Against the Death Penalty will hold an emergency demonstration at the Miami federal building on Saturday, September 17, at 1:00 p.m.

Florida Citizens Against the Death Penalty will undertake a vigil in Tallahassee on Saturday. The site of the planned execution is near Tallahassee.

Florida has more people on Death Row than any other state—eighty-five—of whom 40 percent are Black. These figures underscore the racist character of capital punishment. Nationally, 47 percent of Death Row prisoners are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, or Native American. (These figures come from the ACLU Capital Punishment Project and are accurate as of August 1, 1977).

The latest move by Florida adds to the already abundant evidence that the rulers of this country are bent on executing the hundreds of men and women now held on Death Row.

It will take a powerful outcry of protest to stop them.

KENT STATE GYM OK, BUT . . .: U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Brennan September 9 removed the last legal barrier to building a gym on the site of the May 4, 1970, massacre of four students at Kent State University in Ohio. Brennan had held up construction so he could hear arguments from university officials.

. . . DAMAGE SUIT WILL GO TO TRIAL AGAIN: A \$46 million suit against Ohio Gov. James Rhodes and other state officials will go before a jury again. A federal court of appeals ruled September 12 that the first trial, which resulted in a nine-to-three verdict for Rhodes, was invalid because a juror had been threatened.

Rhodes ordered the National Guard onto the Kent campus in May, 1970.

The suit was filed by parents of the dead students and students who were wounded when the guard opened fire.

SOCIALIST WINS TOP RATING FROM GAYS: Margaret Trowe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle, has received the highest rating from the Seattle Municipal Elections Committee for Gays, a group formed to evaluate candidates' stands on gay rights. Trowe, who spoke at a gay pride rally in June, was rated "an affirmative proponent of gay rights and interests." Only one other of the fourteen mayoral hopefuls won the top rating.

SOCIALIST DENIED BALLOT PLACE: David Zilly, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Tacoma, Washington, was thrown off the municipal ballot on August 4 because the city said he hadn't lived there two years.

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School desegregation continues to be an important stake in the struggle for Black equality. So does busing—the only way to make school desegregation real. In Chicago racist mobs are trying to keep Black students from getting an equal education. But Blacks and their supporters in that city are determined to fight back. Keep up with the struggle for school desegregation in Chicago, Boston, Kansas City, Cleveland, and other cities by reading the *Militant* every week.

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Behind the busing battle

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—Sixty percent of the students in public schools here are Black, 25 percent are white, and 15 percent are Latino. But half of the city's 670 schools are at least 95 percent Black, and about seventy schools are at least 95 percent white.

Ten years ago the Illinois Board of Education ruled that Chicago public schools must desegregate. The city has resisted deadline after deadline. Now, in addition to the voluntary transfer plan in effect this fall, a "comprehensive desegregation plan" is supposed to be ready by next March, to avoid cutoff of millions of dollars in state and federal aid.

Originally, board guidelines said that Black and Latino enrollment in each Chicago school must fall within 15 percent of the entire district's racial composition. That would mean no school could be more than 40 percent white, 30 percent Latino, or 75 percent Black, and would obviously require massive metropolitan-area busing.

The busing would have to be two-way: from Black and Latino schools to white ones and vice versa. Two-way busing would also highlight the need for increased funding to upgrade Black and Latino schools.

Democratic Mayor Michael Bilandic has opposed busing on numerous occasions.

The big-business daily papers have editorialized against the full-scale busing plan needed. The *Chicago Sun-Times* says it favors the minimal voluntary transfer plan because it "can ward off the lawsuits that could bring court control of the city schools."

The *Chicago Tribune* argues that "there are far worse alternatives" to "allowing black children to transfer voluntarily into predominantly white schools."

These "worse alternatives" include *full educational equality* for Blacks and Latinos here through massive two-way busing.

The violent antibusing forces on the southwest side have attacked the voluntary transfer program because they fear that *any* busing could pave the way for more far-reaching school desegregation.

...rising lynch mob terror in Chicago

Continued from front page

they may be able to block a more far-reaching plan next spring.

Their efforts to physically intimidate the Black schoolchildren are being closely watched by antibusing forces in other cities scheduled to begin desegregation plans.

Despite the attacks, more Black students are standing up for their right to an equal education. The number of transfer students increased from 496 on the first day of school to 650 by September 13. Even at Stevenson the number jumped from 30 to 74.

Asked if the actions of the racists changed their minds about transferring, Black students at Stevenson replied they were there to stay. One young woman student said, "I'm here until I graduate."

When schools opened last week, Operation PUSH and other forces in the Black community demanded full protection for the transfer students. While few incidents occurred initially, the racists gathered momentum.

The stepped-up wave of violence—threatening the safety and lives not only of schoolchildren but of any Black or Latino entering Bogan Park—has underscored the need to mobilize massive pressure for protection, by whatever means necessary.

At a news conference September 13, Roland Burris, national executive director of Operation PUSH, assailed the inadequate police protection for the transfer students.

Burris called upon Gov. James Thompson to bring in the National Guard if the racist violence continues.

"If Thompson refuses, we will take the action necessary to make sure our children are protected," he said.

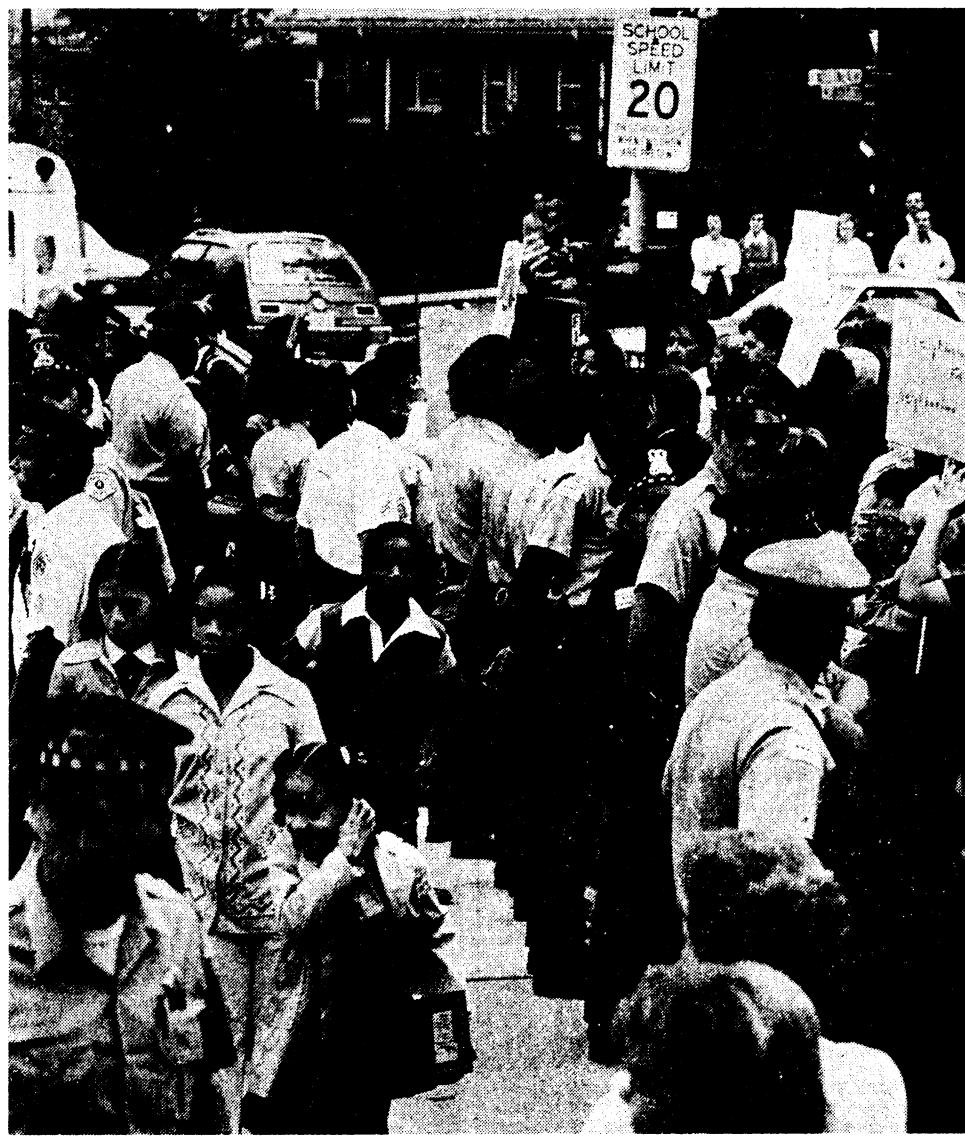
The Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) has called for a united response to the attacks by all opponents of racism.

Saladin El-Tabuk, a leader of SCAR, said what is needed is a "massive outpouring" to show Blacks we will not stand for these atrocities.

"We must demand that the children and the Black community get the protection we need, including National Guard or federal troops if necessary," he said.

Over the past several weeks, SCAR has participated in demonstrations called by PUSH demanding better protection. SCAR has also been active in the standby committees established by PUSH to accompany Black children to school.

"The actions taken so far by supporters of Black rights have been first steps," Tabuk said, "but more massive



Black transfer students at Stevenson Elementary School must run gauntlet of violent hecklers each morning and afternoon.

actions are needed."

Andrew Pulley, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and a member of United Steelworkers Local 1834 in Chicago, said:

"The responsibility for the attacks on Blacks in this city must be placed at the doorstep of Mayor Bilandic, the White House, the Supreme Court, and Congress. The Carter administration's policy of steady retreat on desegregation, backed up by recent rulings of the Supreme Court and antibusing bills in Congress, is generating a climate where the racists here in Chicago feel confident that Washington is on their side. And they are right."

"In just the last few days, Carter has backtracked further on his so-called commitment to Black education, by siding with racist opponents of affirmative action in the *Bakke* case."

"A setback here for desegregation will not only encourage antibusing forces nationwide, but will give new

impetus to attacks on other fronts—affirmative action, open housing, jobs."

Pulley said a massive counteroffensive is needed to answer the racists and force the city to protect Black students. "United action—protest meetings, picket lines, speak-outs—involving the entire Black community, unions, women's groups, and students can put the antibusing bigots on the defensive."

"The Chicago labor movement, with its large Black membership, has an especially important stake in the outcome of this battle. The unions should be in the forefront of the antiracist protests."

"We must demand that the city, the courts, and the U.S. government use whatever force is necessary, including federal troops, to defend the courageous Black students and keep the buses rolling."

Tennis protest: 'Sports, yes; apartheid, no!'

By Earl Williams

NEW YORK—More than 100 people demonstrated at the U.S. Tennis Open in Forest Hills, Queens, September 11, against the inclusion of South Africa in the sports event.

The action, organized by the American Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS), protested the United States Tennis Association's support of the apartheid South African regime. USTA has refused to expel South Africa from the International Lawn Tennis Federation, despite the fact that the regime's racist policies dominate sports competition as well as every other aspect of life in South Africa.

USTA officials tried to claim that the demonstration was against individual tennis players from South Africa who happen to be white. But one of the slogans chanted by protesters answered that slander: "Sports, yes; apartheid, no; tennis with South Africa has got to go!"

A banner from the joint board of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers union made the same point. It read: "Apartheid is a Menace to the Future of Tennis."

Other slogans included: "They Can't Hide

Their Genocide—Ban South Africa!"; "Close the Open to Apartheid!"; and "Forest Hills is like Johannesburg."

Black U.S. tennis star Arthur Ashe, a member of USTA, joined the demonstration and spoke during the rally.

Other participants included the American Committee on Africa; Paul O'Dwyer, president of the New York City Council; National Student Coalition Against Racism; Village-Chelsea NAACP; Pan-African Student Organization; Young Socialist Alliance; Socialist Workers Party; and Youth Against War and Fascism.

The New York City Council passed a resolution condemning USTA's support to South Africa.

Two days after the protest the *New York Times* reported that USTA President W.E. Hester, Jr., was now urging South Africa to withdraw from the Davis and Federation Cup matches beginning in 1979 "until their situation is better at home."

Hester continued, "Unless there is an effort to merge [South Africa's Black and white tennis federations], we will have no choice but to lessen our support for South Africa in international team play."



Militant/Omari Musa
Tennis star Arthur Ashe speaks at antiracist rally in Forest Hills.

White House treaty ceremony: cover for continued U.S. stranglehold on Panama

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—On September 7, as dictators from all over Latin America looked on, President Carter signed two treaties determining the future of the Panama Canal.

The carefully staged ceremony was designed to present Carter as a statesman to his nationwide television audience and to sell the treaties at home and abroad. The agreement on the canal, Carter asserted, shows "the commitment of the United States to the belief that fairness, not force, should lie at the heart of our dealings with the nations of the world."

If Carter's assertion were true, it would certainly represent a new departure for American foreign policy. Force, and force alone, has maintained the American stranglehold on Panama since 1903, when Panama's fifteen-day-old government accepted U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone virtually at gunpoint.

Today, the U.S. government maintains fourteen military bases and more than 9,000 troops in the Canal Zone that splits Panama in half. The American imperialists have made it clear throughout the negotiations that the Panamanian government could either accede to their terms or face the continuation of the status quo.

With the new treaties, Carter has succeeded in giving a legal facade to

the continued American occupation of the Canal Zone and to continuing U.S. intervention in the affairs of the Panamanian people.

First of all, the treaties would formally guarantee another twenty-three years of U.S. military occupation in the Canal Zone.

No limit is set on the number of U.S. troops in Panama. Article IV, Section 5, suggests that the United States "endeavor to maintain its armed forces in the Republic of Panama in normal times at a level not in excess of" the level when the treaty goes into effect. But this limit, even in "normal times," will only be observed "to the extent possible consistent with [the U.S. government's] primary responsibility for the protection and defense of the Panama Canal."

Technical operation of the canal will also remain in American hands during this twenty-three-year period. The treaty establishes a Panama Canal Commission with four Panamanian and five American members. *Panamanian members of this board can be removed by the U.S. government*, which also approves all Panamanian nominations (Article III, Section 3). The Panamanian government has no say on American appointees to the commission.

Of course, there is no guarantee that American forces will leave Panama



Carter (left) and Panama's Gen. Omar Torrijos (right) sign treaty guaranteeing U.S. permanent right to police canal.

after the expiration of the treaty on December 31, 1999. A second treaty on the "permanent neutrality" of the canal gives the American imperialists the right to permanently intervene, diplomatically or militarily, if they contend that the canal's status is threatened.

Thus, a treaty that pretends to recognize the sovereignty of Panama in fact gives the U.S. government veto power over any government chosen by the Panamanian people. This is Carter's idea of "fairness" and of "mutual respect and cooperation"!

The outcry against "giving away" the canal by right-wing know-nothings led by Ronald Reagan has helped give Carter cover for the blatant imperialist treaties he is trying to cram down the throats of the Panamanian people. Also willing to help has been the parade of military dictators invited by Carter to Washington. But it will not be an easy thing to sell these treaties to the people of Latin America.

In Panama itself, troops have already had to break up numerous protests against the treaties. "The government has promised an open public debate of the issues, but anti-treaty demonstrations apparently will not be tolerated," *Washington Post* correspondent Marlise Simons reported in a September 8 dispatch from Panama City.

Simons added that "the government has kept up an intense publicity campaign to obtain wide support for the treaties, which many Panamanians feel fall short of the expectations raised by [Gen. Omar] Torrijos over the years."

Helping the Torrijos regime are the Panamanian Stalinists. Like their cousins in the American Communist Party, they support the imperialist-imposed treaty.

But for genuine supporters of the right to self-determination, there can be only one set of demands: United States get out now! Hands off the Panama Canal!

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1,200 protest 'human rights' hypocrisy

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—The American flag flew over the White House as usual September 7, but the skull and crossbones would have been equally appropriate. Inside the brightly lit executive mansion, President Carter was throwing a party for some of the world's most notorious dictators.

Organizers of death squads, torturers, murderers of political prisoners—they all lined up to shake hands and have their photographs taken with Mr. Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter.

Among those sharing Maine lobster, roast veal, and watercress and mushroom salad with Carter was Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the Chilean butcher who came to power just four years ago this month. Pinochet's regime, complete with concentration camps, has shocked the conscience of the world. His invitation to Washington will help him in trying to break the international isolation of his blood-soaked regime.

While Pinochet was living it up on the Washington social circuit, White House Press Secretary Jody Powell tried to answer criticism of the Chilean dictator's warm reception. Powell's defense was the cynical pretense that Carter's boost to the junta would help its victims in Chile. "We think that as a general rule, it's better talking to people than not talking to them,"

Powell said.

Also on the White House guest list were Argentine dictator Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla; Paraguayan fuerher Alfredo Stroessner; and the military dictators of Bolivia and Peru, Gen. Hugo Banzer Suárez and Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez. Of course, Panamanian dictator Brig. Gen. Omar Torrijos Herrera was the star of the show.

Even the editors of the *New York Times* felt it advisable to register a demure protest. "These visitors," they noted September 8, "will now have a private audience at the White House—as will all the invited leaders—and an opportunity to be photographed for their controlled newspapers with a smiling Jimmy Carter. We regret these appearances, even as we welcome the [Panama Canal] treaties."

A more forceful protest came from more than 1,200 persons who demonstrated outside the White House while Carter entertained the dictators. Chants such as "Chile si, junta no, Pinochet has got to go!" and "Free all political prisoners—right now!" filled the air outside of the White House.

Signs said: "Carter's Human Rights: Dining With Dictators"; "Stop Torture in Latin America"; "Stop U.S. Support of Latin American Dictators"; and "Stop U.S. Aid for Repression."

A rally across the street from the



Militant/David Frankel

September 7 demonstration outside White House. Inside, Carter dined with dictators invited for signing of Panama treaties.

White House was addressed by a number of speakers, including Michael Moffitt. Moffitt's wife Ronni was assassinated in Washington, D.C., one year ago along with Orlando Letelier, who had been a high official in the Allende government before it was overthrown by Pinochet. According to a report in the September 8 *Washington Post*, federal investigators have determined that the bombing that killed Letelier and Moffitt was directed by the Chilean secret police—a conclusion drawn by the *Militant* at the time of the assassination.

Moffitt denounced the hypocrisy of Carter's human rights stand, saying that the U.S. government "has been willing to aid and abet the grossest abuses of human rights around the world." He also read a statement of support from Rep. Thomas Harkin (D-Iowa). Referring to the assurances of the dictators invited to Washington by Carter that the human rights situation in their countries is improving, Harkin said, "Anybody who believes them may as well believe in the tooth fairy."

Also attending the rally, which was organized by the Coalition Against Repression in the Americas, an ad hoc group, were novelist Gabriel García Márquez, author of *One Hundred Years of Solitude*, and Isabel Letelier, the widow of Orlando Letelier.

State Dep't refuses to okay Blanco visa

By José G. Pérez

Despite the Carter administration's vaunted open-door policy, the State Department is refusing to approve a visa for exiled Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

Blanco was scheduled to arrive in the United States September 9 to prepare for a three-month speaking tour and meet with his U.S. publisher, Pathfinder Press.

Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), are cosponsoring the tour to thirty cities scheduled to begin at the end of September around the topic: "Human Rights in Latin America: Myth and Reality."

The Carter administration's refusal to give Blanco a visa gives the lie to the president's human rights rhetoric. It constitutes a clear violation of the rights of authors and publishers supposedly guaranteed by the 1975 Helsinki Agreement. It also tramples on the right of U.S. residents to hear all points of view.

Pathfinder and USLA are urging supporters of civil liberties to send messages to the government demanding that Blanco be allowed to enter the country immediately.

Lloyd Dewitt, Public Services Division chief at the State Department's visa office, told the *Militant* September 12 that no decision had been made on Blanco's visa.

He explained the State Department had asked the U.S. embassy in Peru for its opinion, and hadn't yet received a reply.

Dewitt said "there's no telling" how long it would be before they make a final decision. "The decision is not made in just one department of the Department of State, the visa office," he explained. "The decision is made also in the political bureaus and so forth. So when the information is received from [Peruvian capital] Lima, then it will be gone over and, of course, the decision will be made at a fairly high level."

Pathfinder Press filed a petition for a visa for Hugo Blanco March 8, 1977, shortly after President Carter declared at a news conference, "We are ourselves culpable in some ways for not giving people adequate rights to move around our country or restricting unnecessarily, in my opinion, visitation to this country by those who disagree with us politically."

Carter noted this was in violation of the Helsinki Agreement signed by the United States and promised a change in policy.

Blanco tried to enter the United States to conduct a speaking tour in 1975, but was barred by the Ford administration despite widespread protests from the academic community and civil libertarians.

At that time the State Department said, "Blanco was found to be ineligible for a visa under Section 212(a)(28) of the Immigration and Nationality

Act (McCarran Act) because of his . . . affiliation with certain communist organizations." Blanco is one of the best-known Trotskyists in Latin America.

The McCarran Act is a 1952 thought-control law. It bars from the United States anyone the government believes was ever associated in any way with socialist, communist, or anarchist groups.

Pathfinder Press filed the new petition for a visa for Blanco under provisions of the law for persons of "distinguished merit and ability." They also submitted a thick folder of documentation.

Nevertheless, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a branch of the Justice Department, returned the package a month later. Along with it was a form letter saying, "Evidence submitted to date does not establish the preeminence of the beneficiary in a particular field. . . ."

The INS requested additional evidence.

Pathfinder Press responded by sending back the application, documentation, and a letter of protest. Other protests from prominent intellectuals and civil libertarians soon followed. On June 15 the INS found that "additional documentation" had convinced them.

The approved petition was then given to the State Department. On August 12, U.S. officials interrogated Blanco at length at the U.S. embassy in Stockholm—about his political views, not his visa application.

At some point, the State Department determined Blanco ineligible for a visa not only under the McCarran Act's thought-control Section 212(a)(28), but also under Section 212(a)(9), which bars people who have admitted committing or been convicted of "a crime involving moral turpitude."

State Department spokesperson Dewitt said he did not know why this section of the law had been applied to Blanco.

In an interview, USLA Justice Committee Executive Secretary Michael Kelly called the government's new characterization of Blanco "slander."

"The State Department is fishing for ways to get around the provisions of the McGovern Amendment," Kelly said.

That amendment, signed into law by President Carter August 17, says visas should now be given to persons previously excluded due to organizational affiliations.

The same day Blanco was to have arrived in the United States, the State Department announced it was admitting a delegation from the Stalinist trade union of the Soviet Union. This was the first such delegation to enter the country since the beginning of the cold war. State Department officials said they were motivated to approve visas by the McGovern amendment and "the administration's general concern for freer contacts, which . . . is also an important element of the Helsinki Final Act."

"How can Carter claim he's changed the restrictive visitation policies of past administrations," Kelly said, "if his State Department is searching for new excuses to bar a distinguished Latin American dissident who was barred by Ford?"

"The excuse that they're waiting on information from Lima won't wash. It's been six months since the original application and three months since the INS okayed it."

Kelly reported that USLA and Pathfinder Press are organizing a campaign to have messages of protest sent to the State Department and a congressional committee monitoring implementation of the Helsinki Agreement.

"At stake are not only the rights of Blanco and his publisher," Kelly explained, "but also the right of the American people to hear all points of view."

Who is Hugo Blanco?



Blanco in early 1960s (right) and last year in Peru

No other name arouses greater fervor among the men in striped ponchos who speak the euphonious Quechua. . . . a name that unites the people of the mountains and the valleys, of the hacienda and the community—Hugo Blanco.

—Peruvian writer Hugo Neyra

Hugo Blanco set an example . . . a good example.

—Ernesto "Ché" Guevara

Blanco's immense popularity in Peru—the reason for his exile by the ruling generals—comes from his championing of the aspirations of the poor workers and farmers, especially the Quechua Indians.

Blanco was born in Cuzco in southern Peru and at an early age was outraged by the oppression of the Indian majority at the hands of the Spanish-speaking minority. Blanco is a mestizo who is fluent in Quechua, and in the early 1960s he became the central leader of the Chaupimayo Peasant Union, which organized tens of thousands of Indians for land reform around the cry, "Land or Death!"

Blanco led a peasant militia that defended the landless farmers against the police and private armies of the landlords. He was hunted down and captured by the army in May, 1963.

The Peruvian government changed its laws so that Blanco could be tried before a military tribunal. Acting as judge, jury, and prosecutor, the military sought a death sentence, but international protests—and demonstrations of tens of thousands of people in Peru itself—forced the government to settle for twenty-five years imprisonment.

While at El Frontón Prison Island, Blanco wrote *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru*.

After more protests Blanco was amnestied in December 1970. Ten thousand gathered in Lima to welcome him.

Unlike others who had been active in political struggles in the 1960s, Blanco did not support the Peruvian military government, which was posturing as "revolutionary." He supported the struggles of workers and farmers and the continuing protests to force the government to release more political prisoners. In September 1971 Peruvian police arrested Blanco—kidnapped would be more accurate, since no reason was ever given—and deported him to Mexico.

From Mexico he went to Argentina, where the government threw him into prison in 1972—also without charges. After international protests, he was allowed to leave for Chile.

His stay in Chile was cut short when Gen. Augusto Pinochet carried out the bloody coup against the elected government headed by Salvador Allende four years ago.

Blanco was on the "death list" of foreigners published by Pinochet's junta, but narrowly escaped through a dramatic rescue by the Swedish ambassador. Blanco fled to Sweden.

In October 1975, following a change in the military personnel heading the Peruvian government, Blanco was permitted to return to his homeland.

During a government crackdown after protests against austerity measures in July 1976, Blanco was again arrested, held for several days, then given a one-way ticket to Sweden without a word of explanation. He now lives in Sweden.

During his years of exile Blanco has worked to defend political prisoners and human rights in his native Latin America, speaking in many countries.

—J.G.P.

You can help

You can help get Hugo Blanco into the country by sending messages demanding that he be given a visa to:

Cyrus Vance, secretary of state, 2021 C Street NW, Washington, D.C.; and to the congressional committee in charge of overseeing the implementation of the Helsinki Agreement, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, c/o U.S. Rep. Dante Fascell, HOB Annex 2, Room 3257, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Copies should be sent to: U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

Writings of Hugo Blanco

LAND OR DEATH: The Peasant Struggle in Peru
178 pp., \$9.00, paper \$2.45

DISASTER IN CHILE: Allende's Strategy and why It Failed
Edited by Les Evans, includes special contributions by Hugo Blanco. 271 pp., paper \$2.95

CHILE'S DAYS OF TERROR: Eyewitness Accounts of the Military Coup
Introduction by José Yglesias, edited by Judy White, includes firsthand description by Hugo Blanco of the coup. 124 pp., \$7.00, paper \$1.75

HUGO BLANCO ON CHILE AND PERU
\$35

THE COUP IN CHILE: Firsthand Report and Assessment by Hugo Blanco and Other Revolutionaries Who Escaped
\$25

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Carter brands quotas 'unconstitutional'

By Omari Musa

The Carter administration has prepared a new blow against Black rights. This time the attack comes in the guise of a friend-of-the-court brief prepared by the Justice Department on the *Bakke* case.

This case is seen by supporters of affirmative action as a major challenge to the gains in employment and education made by minorities and women.

It arose when Allan Bakke, a white engineer, sued the University of California at Davis Medical School. The medical school reserved 16 out of 100 places for Black, Chicano, Native American and Asian-American students.

Bakke, who had been turned down by twelve other medical schools and by UC Davis twice, claimed the minority-admissions program discriminated against him, since the minority students admitted had grades lower than his.

The university also admitted thirty-six white students with grades lower than Bakke's.

The California Supreme Court upheld Bakke's suit. Its ruling was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, where the case is scheduled to be heard in October.

Many civil rights leaders have called on Carter to support the UC Davis minority-admissions program.

Earlier this month, leaders of the largest civil rights groups met in New York City. They sent Carter a telegram urging him to support the UC Davis plan.

Carter led these leaders to believe he would support quotas. In July he indicated he would support the UC Davis plan.

However, the Justice Department brief specifically opposes the UC Davis plan and, by extension, any other quota system designed to open the doors previously closed to minorities.

It contends that it is legitimate to use race "as part of the multitude of pertinent factors" to judge admissions policy. But, it goes on, the use of quotas is "using race as a tool of exclusion" against whites.

"Affirmative-action programs," according to the brief, "must use race as a way of eliminating unfairness, not perpetuating it." The brief demands that quotas to enforce affirmative action be declared unconstitutional.

To cover the Carter administration's real intentions Black Solicitor General Wade McCree has written into the brief rhetoric in support of the concept of affirmative action "in general."

In reality, Carter supports Bakke's contention that affirmative-action programs with teeth—quotas—discriminate against white males.

If the Supreme Court's decision agrees with the position taken in this brief, the door would be opened to a wholesale assault on all affirmative-action programs.

NSCAR backs 'Bakke' protests



Los Angeles 'Bakke' protest

Protests in opposition to the *Bakke* decision and the Carter administration's complicity with the drive to gut affirmative-action programs are growing.

Led by Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Rev. Joseph Lowery, a candlelight vigil circled in front of the White House September 13 protesting Carter's decision to oppose affirmative-action quotas in the *Bakke* case.

Lowery told reporters that SCLC plans to mount larger actions if Carter files the Justice Department brief.

Several other organizations and coalitions are also planning conferences and protests this fall.

The National Committee to Overturn the *Bakke* Decision is planning a national day of actions October 8. Marches and rallies are set for twenty cities across the country.

In New York the committee's local affiliate is organizing a march and rally for September 17.

The Black American Law Students Association has scheduled protests in Washington, D.C., and other cities October 3.

In a statement released to the press, National Student Coalition Against Racism Coordinator Tony Austin stated, "The brief exemplifies the hypocritical, cynical, and callous way this government has traditionally treated Blacks, other minorities, and women."

"Carter says he is for goals, not quotas. He says quotas would discriminate against whites."

"He conveniently forgets that it is not whites who have been the victims of centuries of discrimination, but Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and women."

"Even with affirmative action the proportion of minority students to whites is low."

"This brief comes at a time when the unemployment rate in the Black and Hispanic communities is rising."

"It comes at a time when Blacks, other minorities, and women are said to have a friend in the White House. If this brief is an act of friendship, our enemies must be dancing for joy."

"It is clear that we cannot depend on Carter, the Supreme Court, or the Justice Department to defend affirmative action. We must depend on ourselves. We should be taking our demands to the streets in rallies, picket lines, and teach-ins."

"This is how we won affirmative action in the first place. And this is why NSCAR is urging participation in the October 3 and 8 protests."

"The NSCAR national steering committee meeting October 14-15 will have as one of its focuses the fight against the *Bakke* decision. We urge all those who wish to defend affirmative action to attend."

—O.M.

Court supported the Justice Department view it would "have the effect of irretrievably undermining the affirmative-action programs of public and private entities."

The NAACP National Board of Directors meeting in New York expressed "dismay and anger that an administration purportedly favorable to human rights has reportedly prepared a brief supporting Bakke and opposing numerical goals favoring those who for so long have suffered the ravages of discrimination."

Lance punctures 'open government' lie

By David Frankel

WASHINGTON—Speaking here September 6, Sen. Clifford Case (R-N.J.) summed up Budget Director Bert Lance's situation in one sentence. "This guy is going to go, no question about it," said Case.

In fact, it appears as if President Carter's most trusted adviser, the man Carter once referred to as "one of the closest friends I have in the world," will be doing well if he merely goes home, rather than to jail.

Already, officials in the Justice Department, the Federal Election Commission, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Securities and Exchange Commission are studying possible criminal charges against Lance. In addition to earlier information about Lance's shady banking practices, the following charges have come to light:

• **Embezzlement.** A former officer at Lance's Calhoun, Georgia, bank, Billy Lee Campbell, who is serving an eight-year prison sentence for embezzling about 1 million dollars, has implicated Lance in the scheme. Since Campbell cannot be prosecuted further in the embezzlement charge his demand for immunity would seem to indicate that his information also involves previously unknown illegalities.

• **Tax fraud.** Sen. Charles H. Percy (R-Ill.) revealed September 9 that Lance appears to have

falsely dated three checks less than a month before joining the Carter administration in order to gain a tax benefit. Percy said that if the checks were actually written on the dates they carry, then Lance wrote checks totaling almost \$200,000 a day when he had less than \$30,000 in his bank account.

• **Perjury.** *New York Times* columnist William Safire described in a September 8 article how Lance lied under oath before a Senate committee investigating his banking record.

The editors of the *Washington Post*, trying to minimize the affair, said September 8, "It is possible to debate whether Mr. Lance actually committed misstatements before the Senate committee, but at a minimum, he was a great deal less than candid in his answers."

In any case, the *Post* editors added, "every other day new lines of inquiry open" in the Lance case.

And each revelation adds to the difficulties of the Carter administration as a whole. Lance's sordid record cannot help but reflect on Carter. Carter, after all, was the man who promised to clean up Washington and bring open government and a new morality into the White House.

Moreover, Lance played a major role in setting Carter's economic policy. "The budget director has been the administration's most forceful

advocate of fiscal conservatism, preaching a constant sermon on the importance of attaining the president's goal of a balanced budget by 1981," Dennis Farney and Richard Levine noted in the September 8 issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Lance, who balanced his own budget by writing overdrafts, was known as Carter's "key link to the business community" according to Farney and Levine.

Finally, it is becoming increasingly clear that Carter himself had a hand in covering up Lance's past. On September 6 a Senate committee heard testimony from treasury official Robert Bloom. Bloom claimed that Carter and his staff were fully aware of Lance's business record long ago. But when the Senate was discussing Lance's nomination as budget director, they chose not to bring it up..

The following day the White House issued a denial that Carter or his staff had withheld relevant information on Lance. However, on September 9 a report by the Internal Revenue Service revealed just the opposite. Carter had been given a detailed briefing on Lance's legal and financial difficulties just two days before he named the Georgia banker to be budget director.

As was to be expected, Carter brought forth another denial.

Chicanos score violence in movement

Crusade members assault Denver activists

By Steven Marshall

DENVER—An assault on a Chicano theater group by members and sympathizers of the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano organization, has evoked an angry response from the Chicano community here.

On August 27, forty followers of the Crusade, wielding pipes, brass knuckles, and clubs, invaded a meeting of Su Teatro and the Colorado Coalition in Support of the Chicano Liberation Struggle held at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.

Shouting obscenities, threats, and anticommunist slogans, the invaders broke bottles, smashed displays, and overturned tables, forcing the meeting to break up.

A special televised mass from Guadalupe Church September 14 was a visible display of the Chicano community's resentment at these thug tactics.

"We cannot and will not tolerate the use of violence and fear by those who would attempt to deny civil and human rights so basic as those of lawful assembly and free speech," said Parish Council President Pat Carpio.

"By what right do these terrorists invade our building and violently expel people who had permission to use our facilities?" she continued. "They do not speak for us. They do not represent us. We speak for ourselves, and we represent ourselves."

The attackers had claimed to "represent" the "community."

Joining Carpio at the mass was Father José Lara, the parish priest and a widely respected figure in the Chicano community and the Chicano movement.

Father Lara noted that "not too many years ago . . . the Crusade for Justice spoke and acted against the kind of behavior of which some of their members are now guilty. The Crusade was known across the country as a

civil rights organization."

Now, however, he continued, "I, along with the parish council and this community, must publicly voice objection to philosophies and tactics that employ fear, violence, suffering, and destruction."

The speakers received a standing ovation from the overflow crowd of 500.

A statement made by victims of the August 27 attack noted, "This attack is not just against the coalition, Marxists-Leninists, and Anglos. It is an attack against all who seek to end the oppression of the Chicano and other people!"

In two interviews with the *Denver Post*, Father Lara described the Crusade's changing role in the Chicano movement.

"I knew, especially for the last year or so, that somebody had to stop them, because they were going too far."

"In the Chicano community we speak of oppression coming from the establishment. Oppression comes from there in many ways."

"But when the oppression comes from within the community, that is—for me—the tragedy."

On September 6, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the central leader of the Crusade, held a press conference along with five of the leaders of the attack on Guadalupe Church.

Gonzales said the parish council's statement was politically motivated and that criticism of the Crusade came from middle-class "houseboys of the establishment."

He said the Crusade for Justice did not organize the attack, but admitted that Crusade members led it.

Most ominous, however, was the Crusade leader's refusal to repudiate the use of violence against those it disagrees with. Gonzales implied that the "Marxist-Leninist politics" of Su

Teatro had justified the August 27 attack.

Father Lara told the *Militant* that Su Teatro's political ideology is not the issue.

"As our statement clearly stated, the use of the property of our church is ours to decide."

"But even more important is the basic dignity of man: freedom of speech and assembly. Every person—no matter if they are Communists or whatever—has these rights."

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the

Crusade had played an increasingly repressive role in the Chicano movement.

In recent years, however, the Crusade has adopted an increasingly sectarian stance toward struggles of the Chicano community.

An ironic example was an August 27 rally protesting the police murders of two Chicanos (*Militant*, September 9). The Crusade for Justice did not participate.

Apparently, the Crusade judged the rally against police terror less important than driving a "Marxist-Leninist" theater group out of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church.

This is not the first time the Crusade has used violence against those it disagrees with. Last October Steve Chainey and Fred Halstead, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, were attacked without provocation during a visit to the Crusade's headquarters. Halstead suffered a broken nose.

In response to that assault, more than fifty leaders of the Chicano, Black, and Puerto Rican movements—including many in Denver—signed a "Declaration Against Violence in the Movement." The Crusade responded with threats against those who signed the declaration.

In June of this year, pipe-wielding members of the Crusade attacked a banquet of the Friends of the *People's World* (a newspaper reflecting the views of the Communist Party) at the Auraria Community Center. Two of the meeting's organizers were hospitalized.

Crusade-led gangs have also harassed other organizations in the Chicano community, including the West Side Action Center and the Denver Inner-City Parish.

In addition, Father Lara noted numerous Crusade attacks and threats against individuals in parks the Crusade claims to "protect."



FATHER JOSE LARA

Crusade for Justice was in the forefront of the Chicano liberation movement. It led Chicano opposition to the Vietnam War and organized several high school "blowouts" that protested racism in the Denver schools.

The Crusade has been the target of an extensive government operation of spying, disruption, frame-ups, and murderous attacks because of the pro-

through the list a heavy rain forced the crowd to head for cover.

After the downpour there was time for one more speaker: José Angel Gutiérrez of the Texas Raza Unida Party.

"Once again," Gutiérrez said, "we have had to bring the conscience of the nation to the Capitol. Some of us thought that maybe this president, who talks about human rights abroad, would see that human rights also applies at home."

"I consider it an insult that Carter is unwilling to meet with you."

Texas farm workers march reaches D.C.

By Steve Bride

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A seventy-eight-day journey covering 1,500 miles ended here September 5, as members and supporters of the Texas Farmworkers Union (TFW) marched through downtown Washington to a rally on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial.

According to union President Antonio Orendain, the walk, which crossed much of the South, was part of "a conscious effort to call attention to our situation and win support for national labor legislation covering farm workers."

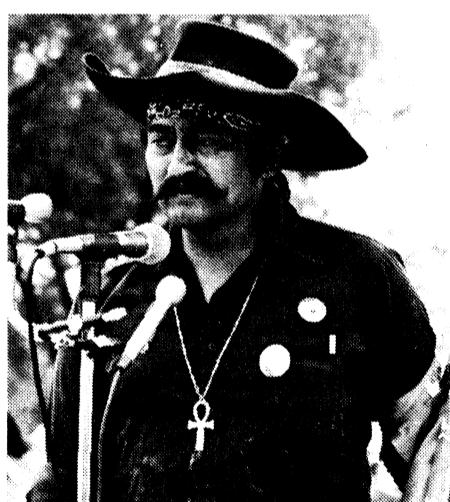
Demonstrators also demanded repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which enables states to pass so-called right-to-work laws.

Marchers assembled under hazy skies near the Pentagon here and stepped off at about 10:30 a.m. Chanting "Human rights now," demonstrators crossed the Potomac into Washington.

Passing the White House the crowd of 500 demanded, "Carter come out!" TFW representatives had demanded a meeting with Carter upon their arrival in the capital, which Carter refused.

Banners advertised the presence of contingents from New York, Chicago, Detroit, and Philadelphia, along with organizations such as the Student Coalition Against Racism and La Raza Unida Party.

With annual incomes of only \$3,000, farm workers in Texas are the most



Militant/Jane Leroi
TFW president Antonio Orendain addressing September 5 rally.

impoverished in the country. They have a life expectancy of forty-nine years, a disease rate 250 percent higher than the national average, and an average education of less than eight years.

Unlike their counterparts in California, Texas farmworkers have yet to win legal recognition of their right to union elections and representation.

"It is clearly impossible," Orendain said, "for us to organize without special legislation for agricultural workers. We can pull 100 percent of the workers in a field out on strike today, and they would be replaced tomorrow because they have no rights under the present labor laws."

By the time the marchers reached the Lincoln Memorial rally site the skies had turned openly threatening. After some folk songs and the introduction of the thirty-five union members who made the hike from Texas, the crowd heard from Orendain:

"Once people lived by the sweat of their labor. The land didn't belong to anybody. Later on it became the private property of the growers. Now we have no place to plant and to harvest. So we must have a right to put a price on our sweat, because it is the only thing that we have to sell to them."

A full list of speakers were to follow Orendain, reflecting the broad range of support for the union. But midway

Chicano Liberation and Socialism

By Miguel Pendás

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Desegregation key issue in Cleve. election

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—Two sharply clashing views of the key issues in the mayoral campaign here were argued at a September 9 candidates debate sponsored by the City Club.

The candidates of the two parties of racism and unemployment—Democrats Edward Feighan and Dennis Kucinich and Republican incumbent Ralph Perk—wanted to discuss “law and order,” pornography, and prostitution.

But Alyson Kennedy, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, declared “desegregation is the issue” that is most important in this campaign.

Cleveland is under federal court order to desegregate its public schools by January 1978.

Kennedy blasted the school board, which has already been granted one delay, for stalling on desegregation.

The socialist candidate said, “The issue is racism. Perk publicly opposes

desegregation. Feighan and Kucinich do not consider desegregation a serious issue in this campaign. I am the only candidate who supports desegregation by any means necessary, including busing.”



Militant/Susan Ellis
SWP mayoral candidate Alyson Kennedy.

“To say that the issue of desegregation is not important,” Kennedy charged, “is to say that Black rights are not important.”

Unlike my opponents, she continued, “I condemn the board for its racist stalling tactics. And I support the right of Blacks to get an education equal to whites.”

Kennedy’s forceful arguments put her opponents on the defensive.

A Black questioner asked Feighan whether he would enforce the court’s desegregation order. The Democratic mayoral hopeful responded there was “not any question” that desegregation was a central issue. “Ms. Kennedy is right,” he said.

Feighan said it was “awful for Mayor Perk” to ignore this issue and pledged that if elected he would ensure the safety of “all children” under the court order.

This exchange was widely publicized. WERE, Cleveland’s only all-

news radio station, reported the the socialist candidate had forced Feighan to take this position. At least one of the network local news shows broadcast highlights of the debate. The debate was front-page news in both major Cleveland dailies. And eight radio stations and the public TV station rebroadcast the entire discussion.

Kennedy, twenty-six, is a waitress and a member of the national executive board of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

She concluded her City Club speech with an appeal to working people here to break with the parties of their bosses and form a labor party. Such a party, she said, “would unite our class in exposing and fighting against the real criminals in this society.”

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, she added, a labor party would organize and support struggles by Cleveland’s Black community for equal education.

The Militant needs your help...

Why do we need your help?

Because to put out the kind of paper that our readers need and deserve, we have to raise \$50,000 this fall.

And with your contributions we can do it.

Our costs have skyrocketed since 1971. Unless our readers respond generously, we will not be able to keep on providing the variety of news and socialist analysis that you have come to expect from the *Militant*.

Let’s look at what has happened to our bills over the past six years.

- The price of newsprint has doubled.
- Our postal rates have shot up

five-and-a-half times, and will go up **20 percent more** next year.

- Air-freight shipping charges for *Militant* bundle orders are now **four times** what they were.

In all, the total cost of putting out the *Militant* has more than doubled.

That’s why the *Militant* last month increased the price of a single issue from thirty-five cents to fifty cents, and the price of a ten-week introductory subscription from one dollar to two dollars.

And that’s why we’ve launched a \$50,000 fund drive.

How do we plan to raise it?

We got off to a good start at a rally for the *Militant* held in August during the Socialist Workers Party convention. *Militant* supporters pledged \$31,000 at the rally; so far \$17,631 of that money has been collected.

Other rallies for the *Militant* will be held in cities across the country in October and November to help put the fund over the top. Ten leaders of the Socialist Workers Party will be on tour to speak at those rallies.

Finally, we will need a lot of direct mail contributions. That’s where you, our readers, can help.

It’s worth more than double to the Panamanian people, who are fighting to regain control from Washington over the Panama Canal. The *Militant*, unlike the big-business-owned press, has been telling their side of the story.

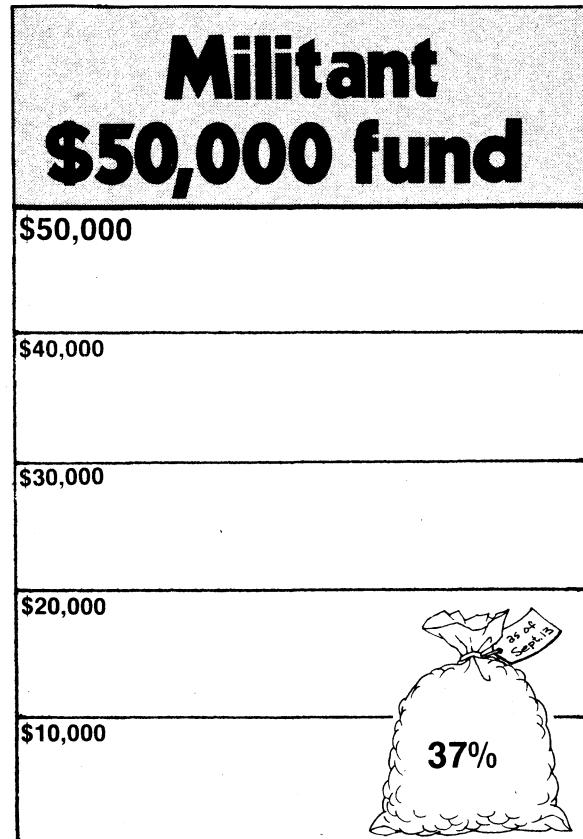
It’s worth more than double to the striking iron ore workers in Minnesota’s Mesabi Range, where the life-and-death issues at stake there have been ignored by most media. The *Militant* sent staff writer Andy Rose to the range to interview the strikers and tell their side of the story.

It’s worth more than double to the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women fighting for equality and liberation. Each week the *Militant* tells their side of the story.

And for all these reasons, it’s worth a lot more than double to you, too. Because you can’t get that kind of information anywhere else but the *Militant*.

Since the August rally, we have received \$503 in contributions. Because of the matching fund, that actually amounts to \$1,006. That puts us at **\$18,637**, or 37 percent of our goal.

So we’ve still got a long way to go. Help out by sending in your contribution today, using the coupon below.



Matching fund

And because of a special pledge by one supporter, the money you contribute—and the money raised at the fall rallies—will be matched up to a total of \$10,000.

So every dollar you contribute is worth double to the *Militant*.

In many ways, it’s worth much more.

I want to contribute:

\$500 \$250 \$100
 \$50 \$25 \$10
_____ Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to: **The Militant Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

...to keep telling your side of the story

Sexist outburst at Congress abortion debate

By Cindy Jaquith

Only a thin veneer of self-righteous "concern for life" covers the anti-woman attitudes of the politicians currently debating how far Congress should go in eliminating Medicaid funds for abortions.

Sometimes even the veneer is absent, as it was on September 12. The House-Senate committee meeting on the Hyde amendment that day was a cynical spectacle of disregard for the lives and dignity of women.

The committee members are working on a compromise version of the two anti-abortion bills they have before them. The House version of the Hyde amendment denies Medicaid for all abortions except when the woman's life is in danger. The Senate version would also permit the use of funds in cases of rape, incest, and where "medically necessary."

During the committee's deliberations, Rep. Silvio Conte (R-Mass.) objected to abortion funds for women who have been raped.

"You put rape in there; every girl who gets pregnant will say she got raped," he declared. Given his mentality, it's a wonder Conte didn't add that those "girls" who do get raped probably asked for it anyway.

Still deadlocked between the two bills, Congress is supposed to achieve a compromise by September 30, when the budget for the departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare runs out. The Hyde amendment is attached to this budget.

Whatever common amendment emerges, it would be a setback for women if even one cent of Medicaid money were cut. But the Senate version—not to mention the House's—goes much further. By giving the state the prerogative to perform only "medically necessary" abortions, it fundamentally undermines the right of women to choose when to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

And, in fact, Senate conferees are already hinting that they are willing to make even bigger concessions to anti-abortion proponents. At the close of the September 12 session, Sen. Warren Magnuson (D-Wash.) said if the House rejects the "medically necessary" language, "we will be ready to submit a meaningful compromise."

Meanwhile, abortion rights supporters continue to voice opposition to the anti-woman maneuverings in Congress.

On September 10, the state board meeting of the Pennsylvania National Organization for Women (NOW) unanimously passed a motion condemning all versions of the Hyde amendment. The board voted to "urge the Pennsylvania NOW members to contact their senators and representatives to tell them to remove all language pertaining to abortion from the Labor/HEW appropriations bill" and reiterated "NOW's commitment to every women's right to control her body."

In New York City, 120 women gathered the same day at a speakout in defense of legal abortion. The Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse sponsored the meeting.

Off and rolling...

By Nelson Blackstock

The *Militant* fall subscription drive is off and rolling. Saturday, September 10, was the big kick-off date. Teams in at least forty cities were out knocking on doors, talking to people about subscribing to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The August convention of the Socialist Workers Party voted to launch a campaign for 18,000 new subscribers to the *Militant*. This is combined with an effort to sell 500 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, the new biweekly Spanish-language socialist newsmagazine.

There is a parallel drive to maintain and expand regular weekly *Militant* sales at plants, especially steel plants. We'll be reporting on how this is going in future issues.

While last Saturday's results are still filtering in, there are already some lessons to draw for where the campaign should go from here. (This week we're announcing the subscription goals cities have taken. Next week we'll print our first scoreboard of subscriptions received.)

• It's important to establish a regular, weekly pattern of subscription gathering now, early in the drive. This will assure that local areas stay on schedule in meeting their goals by November 19, the date the drive ends.

Dallas socialists, for example, are setting aside one day during which everybody will go out to sell subscriptions. That day is Sunday—although many cities seem to prefer Saturday. In addition, Dallas will be going out at least once more during the week—whether it's in the evening for sales in the community, or a daytime sale on campus.

• Campus sales should now take a priority. Students tend to be most open to trying a subscription when they first arrive on campus in the fall. Try sales at registration lines and door to door in dormitories.

The SWP has a big stake in helping the Young Socialist Alliance spread the word on campus.

(The YSA is also officially taking part in the drive. We'll be reporting on some of the things they are doing.)

Campus sales produced some of the most striking returns last Saturday:

The Pittsburgh SWP dispatched a team of four to visit the college in nearby Edinboro. They brought back nineteen subscriptions.

The West Atlanta SWP branch found eighteen subscribers in the dormitories at the Black Atlanta University complex.

• We'll soon have a complete rundown on how the *Perspectiva Mundial* side of the drive is going. But we have some good news now.

Single-copy sales of *Perspectiva* have been flourishing during the first days of the drive—at least where cities have ordered *Perspectiva* bundles large enough to allow for flexibility in sales.

Outstanding examples: New York City sold eighty-four *Perspectivas* on Saturday. Brooklyn alone took an initial bundle of fifty, and then ordered thirty-five more. And East Los Angeles sold forty-six on Saturday and ordered seventy-five more.

Tips for subscription hunters

Each week during the drive we'll pass along useful suggestions we receive from people taking part in the subscription drive. If you have an idea you would like to share, send it in to: Circulation Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

"Often during door to door subscription canvassing you run into people who say they want to get the paper but won't have the money until later. What we do is have them go ahead and fill out a subscription blank and set a time to come back later and pick up the money."

"We've found this procedure is a good way to get additional subscribers. It's well worth the effort to go back after these 'pick-up subs.' Filling out the subscription blanks seems to increase their commitment to give the *Militant* a try."

Paul Hubbard
West Atlanta Branch

Local goals

CITY	GOAL	
Albuquerque, N.M.	150	
Albany, N.Y.	75	
Atlanta	600	
Baltimore	175	
Berkeley, Calif.	300	
Boston	825	
Chicago	900	
Cincinnati	200	
Cleveland	300	
Dallas, Tex.	250	
Denver	300	
Detroit	850	
Houston	600	
Indianapolis	250	
Kansas City, Mo.	175	
Los Angeles	1,100	
Louisville	150	
Miami	250	
Milwaukee	400	
Minneapolis	400	
Newark, N.J.	350	
New Orleans	300	
New York	1,800	
Oakland, Calif.	600	
Philadelphia	675	
Phoenix, Ariz.	250	
Pittsburgh	450	
Portland, Ore.	250	
Raleigh, N.C.	150	
Salt Lake City	150	
St. Louis	375	
St. Paul	200	
San Antonio, Tex.	350	
San Diego	300	
San Francisco	600	
San Jose	350	
Seattle	300	
Tacoma, Wash.	150	
Toledo, Ohio	150	
Washington, D.C.	600	

Mesabi steelworkers like 'Militant'

Militant readers have been following developments in the important steelworkers' strike on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota.

Our reporters have been on the scene to get the facts on the struggle of the workers in the iron ore mines and processing plants against the strikebreaking tactics of the steel corporations.

On Saturday, September 10, a team of twenty-one from the Minneapolis and St. Paul branches of the SWP visited several towns on the Mesabi range.

They went door to door, talking to the people about the *Militant*, in the towns of Silver Bay, Babbitt, Chisom, Buhl, and Virginia.

They came back with thirty-five subscriptions, twenty-two of them from steel-union members.

The Minnesota socialists report that the striking workers welcomed the favorable coverage in the *Militant*. They contrasted it to the procompany slanders found in the *Mesabi Daily News*, known among steelworkers as the "Miserable Daily News."

Six of the twenty-one socialists, divided into three teams of two, concentrated on visiting people who had already subscribed to the *Militant* during their previous visits to the iron range.

One team spent most of their time with a woman who had been harassed out of her job with a steel company. As a consequence she has brought a legal action against her former employers. She invited six other women to her house to meet the socialists. They spent several hours talking about a variety of issues, including the problems faced by women in the mines.

Time to march

The Carter administration's decision to support the *Bakke* "reverse discrimination" suit aims a body blow at Blacks, Latinos, women, and all other victims of oppression and discrimination.

The charge by Allan Bakke that the minority admissions program at a California medical school "discriminates" against him and other whites has become a landmark test of affirmative-action programs.

In this historic test, the White House has taken the side of racist bigotry.

Trying to mask its assault, the Carter administration claims it supports affirmative action even though it opposes quotas. But in reality quotas are the sole effective means of implementing affirmative action.

NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks warned that if *Bakke* is upheld, "everything that's happened in the last twenty years would be rolled back." At the very least the racists will be emboldened.

At a September 13 candlelight vigil outside the White House, Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph Lowery said that if Carter submits a court brief backing *Bakke*, it will be time to move "from moral witness to political protest."

This echoes months of statements by officials of the NAACP, SCLC, Operation PUSH, and other civil rights groups that if the attacks on Blacks continue, it will be time to march . . . "soon."

The time has come to make these statements a reality.

Carter's support to Bakke shows that the courts, Congress, and the administration are united in their assault on Black rights. Only massive independent protest by Blacks and their supporters can avert new defeats.

The time to march is now.

Let Blanco in

While Jimmy Carter entertained Latin American dictators invited for the signing of the Panama Canal treaties, the State Department refused Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco permission to enter the United States.

Blanco, the leader of a land reform movement among Quechua Indian peasants, has been seeking a visa since 1975. He has been invited by his publisher, Pathfinder Press, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) to tour the country speaking on "Human Rights in Latin America: Myth and Reality."

Blanco knows his topic firsthand.

He was arrested for his activities in the peasant movement and threatened with a death sentence in the 1960s. It took an international defense campaign to save his life and to eventually win his release in 1970.

Soon after, Blanco was expelled from his native country (something forbidden by Peru's laws). He went to Argentina where he was imprisoned without charges.

Again, international protests freed him.

Deported from Argentina to Chile, Blanco was slated for death by Augusto Pinochet when the Chilean dictator staged his bloody coup four years ago. Blanco narrowly escaped from Chile with the help of the Swedish embassy.

Readmitted later to Peru for a few months, Blanco was again expelled. He now lives in Sweden.

Carter's cynical arrogance knows no bounds. Crying crocodile tears for victims of political repression, he fetes tyrants from every corner of Latin America, then slams the door on Blanco so that the American people can't hear the victims' side of the story.

For Blanco Latin America is a continent without sanctuary. Jimmy Carter's White House guests have made sure of that.

The State Department's refusal to admit Blanco gives the lie to Carter's human rights rhetoric. It shows the emptiness of Carter's promise to permit visits "by those who disagree with us politically."

The refusal flagrantly violates the 1975 Helsinki agreement and ignores the McGovern amendment approved by Congress a month ago. And it tramples on the right of the American people to hear all points of view, not just those agreeable to Carter and his dictator guests.

We wholeheartedly endorse the campaign of protest mounted by USLA and Pathfinder Press to demand that the government give Blanco a visa.

We urge all our readers to join it.

Helen Keller

After reading two books about Helen Keller and Ann Sullivan, I learned two things: one, how to talk to the deaf, and two, that Helen Keller walked in women's rights demonstrations. Then I found out in the *Militant* (September 9) how she was spied on by the FBI, and it made me disgusted.

Just because she was deaf and blind, the FBI probably got away with it easier. Helen Keller called herself a socialist.

I'm eight, and I hope you will print other things like this article.

Saeed Harris
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

directors in Hollywood, Michael Schultz, the director of *Cooley High* and *Car Wash*, had this to say about *Rocky*: "Black audiences are being duped if they don't see the inherent racism in *Rocky* . . . a movie which tapped the racist feelings of America by pitting the poor white guy against a Black guy who was the total caricature of Muhammad Ali."

Hollywood films don't necessarily make opinion, but they certainly do reflect it. *Rocky* won't turn people into racists, but it does lend credence to the racist feelings that pervade white America, which are being used by the rulers of this country to roll back the gains Blacks have made.

Gary Cohen
Cambridge, Massachusetts

'Rocky'—a reply

I was disappointed with the lack of sensitivity to the implicit racism of *Rocky* expressed in the responses to my letter (*Militant*, August 26).

Unfortunately, the specific examples I gave of the film's racism were deleted by the *Militant* in the editing of my letter. If they had been included my point may have seemed valid to the respondents.

I abhor socialist realism or crude political propaganda films and sexist films with no redeeming artistic merit. For example, the Pontecorvo film *Burn* was justifiably panned by the critics due to its artistic failure despite its correct revolutionary political line. The same filmmaker's proterrorist *Battle of Algiers* was correctly praised for its artistic magnificence. Politics is merely one criteria to consider in a film, but in the case of *Rocky* it was overlooked.

I did not deal with the film's total lack of artistic merit, owing to space limitations. The phony sentimentality, shamelessly contrived plot, the one-dimensional characters, banal dialogue, the inept performances—especially of Stallone—the cinematographic gimmickry, manipulative direction were all reminiscent of Oscar-winning director Avildson's other trash hit, *Joe*.

I attempted to deal with only one aspect of the film, its racism, and did not deal with the glorification of the sexist relationship between Rocky and his "Liza Doolittle."

One of the tiny coterie of Black

A criticism

I was very upset with the *Militant*, which, ironically, was sold at many women's liberation demonstrations around the country. Back page, all men speaking about the *Bakke* decision . . . an issue that also concerns women. Were there no women speakers at the AFT convention on this issue?

Then again, on page 17, greetings to the socialist rally were all men.

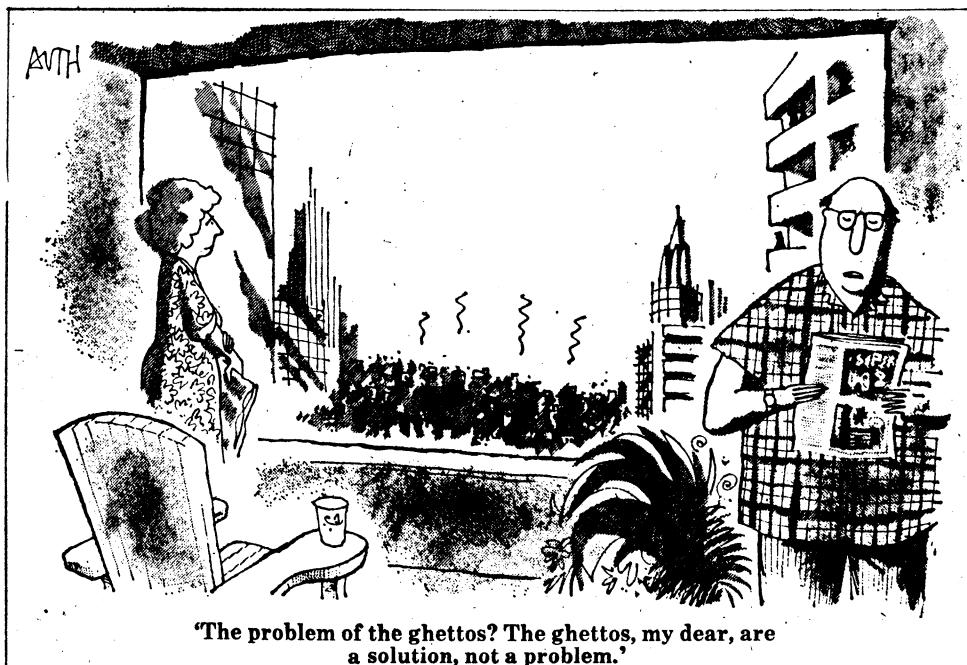
Perhaps this is a petty concern, but as a teacher and feminist I know we can do better.

Keep up the good work otherwise.
Kathe Latham
San Francisco, California

Rosenberg case booklet

In this twenty-fifth anniversary year of the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, a collection of short pieces by individuals on how they have related to the Rosenberg-Sobell case over the past twenty-five years, and how it has affected their personal and political development, will be produced by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

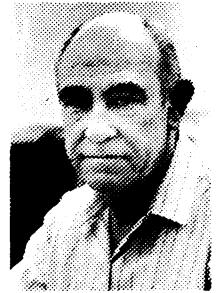
Sharing memories of the Rosenberg execution has always been an important form of bonding for those of us who grew up, or were already grown up, on some part of the Left in the



"The problem of the ghettos? The ghettos, my dear, are a solution, not a problem."

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



'Jobs—not promises'

1950's; for most of us, it has left an indelible mark.

The accounts should be personal in nature and should be from one to three double-spaced typewritten pages. Please indicate if you want your name used.

Contributions must be in *no later than October 31, 1977*. Send your contributions or requests for more information to Vicki Gabriner, Atlanta Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case, Post Office Box 5533, Atlanta, Georgia 30307.

Vicki Gabriner,
Atlanta, Georgia

Ideas that make sense

Enclosed is the amount for your introductory offer to the *Militant*, and also for *Perspectiva Mundial*. I'm happy to find a paper that fills in the giant gaps left by the bourgeois press, as well as an excellently written journal that serves our Spanish-speaking community.

These two publications fulfill a vital role in increasing people's awareness and advancing the cause of socialism in our politically atrophied country.

In the Socialist Workers Party, I've finally come into contact with ideas that make sense, that are backed by facts, and that are guided by a sense of humanity, not by capitalist greed. ¡El pueblo unido nunca será vencido!

Martin Koppel
Baltimore, Maryland

A comment on Elvis

Elvis Presley was a conscious racist. In response to the civil rights movement, he said that Blacks should "stay in their place." Still, according to John Lee Hooker, Elvis Presley is one of the great blues artists of all time. I agree.

In his *Militant* review of Elvis Presley's life (*Militant*, September 2) Duncan Williams talks about the privileged reception Presley received when he did "Hound Dog," which he borrowed from Black blueswoman Mama Thornton. Actually, he borrowed little more than the title, as his unfortunate version was not really the same song. That song marks the crossroads in his career when he descended from being a great artist to a mere charismatic entertainer. From the standpoint of art, he should have died before he cut that record.

In my opinion, Presley attained a momentary equality with Mama Thornton when he gave the world his first, but now very obscure, Sun label recording of the "Milk Cow Blues Boogie."

Bob Schwartz
Miami Beach, Florida

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Congressional Black Caucus and other Black Democrats have little in common with the trade-union bureaucracy because of their conflicting narrow interests and their different constituencies. But what they share is precious to both and often brings them together on specific issues.

Both are committed to "free enterprise" and capitalist party politics. They fear their respective constituencies. They are disappointed with Carter for his failure to pay them for services rendered. At present they are looking for safe ways to persuade the administration to institute a jobs program. Neither is prepared to call for mass demonstrations of angry unemployed workers.

An unplanned demonstration of the mood among Blacks occurred when the power failed in New York City in July and the lights went out for one night. Blacks recovered some of the stolen property they had been robbed of by local merchants.

Under these circumstances it should have come as no surprise when AFL-CIO President George Meany on August 30 endorsed demands of Black leaders for government programs to create jobs for the estimated 10 million unemployed in this country.

The Black leaders had met August 28-29 to talk about oppression of Blacks, segregation in schools and housing, the government rollback of affirmative-action programs, renewed racist attacks on Black organizations and individuals, and what the Carter administration is doing about all this.

They announced that the solution to the problems of Blacks is jobs and that the way to bring this about is through pressure on the Carter administration. Since this coincided with the current aims, purposes, and methods of AFL-CIO political strategy, Meany was quick to announce his complete agreement.

The AFL-CIO and the Congressional Black Caucus were both sponsors of "Full Employment Week," September 4 through 10, along with the United Auto Workers, other independent unions, church groups, and many others. Demonstrations were to be organized under the auspices of the Full Employment Action Council, cochaired by Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Coretta Scott King, the prominent Black leader.

Finley announced in August that demonstrations, prayer vigils, parades, and rallies would take place in more than 200 cities and towns. An estimated turnout of more than a million was predicted. UAW Vice-president Irving Bluestone, a member of the council's executive committee, declared that "we must awaken America's conscience to the need to move aggressively to reduce unemployment."

The UAW slogan is: "Jobs—not promises."

All the "Full Employment Week" activities—where a pretense to hold them was made—were carefully controlled, suited to the needs of entrenched office-holders in government and in the unions.

The scheduled demonstration at Herald Square in New York City was a good example. It was called for noon in the middle of the week, a sure way to keep attendance small. The flatbed truck that served as a speakers' stand arrived half an hour late. By the time the Democratic candidates for New York City mayor and other offices piled onto the truck there wasn't much room for anyone else.

Speakers were limited to union bureaucrats, the lieutenant governor, one city official, and Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), who said he had come from Washington for the occasion. Ossie Davis, an invited guest obviously feeling uncomfortable and out of place, made brief remarks before leaving. He said government rests on the patience of the governed and he thought a lot of people were getting impatient, including him. That was closer to the truth than anything else that was said.

The police had put up barricades around Herald Square to prevent the crowd from interfering with traffic. But that wasn't necessary. Less than 1,000 people showed up, mostly staff people and hangers-on from union offices. They distributed handbills about jobs, imports, and undocumented workers. Harry Van Arsdale, president of the central labor council, sounded as if he thinks "illegal aliens" are the cause of mass unemployment.

Sol Stetin, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, seemed to make a more reasoned plea to the Carter administration. If private industry cannot provide jobs, he said, then the cities, states, and the federal government must do so.

This political strategy aims, as UAW Vice-president Bluestone aptly said, to "defuse" the potentially explosive social crisis. A leading proponent of this strategy is the "progressive" wing of social democracy under the leadership of Prof. Michael Harrington. He sees the present controlled demonstrations for full employment as preparation for more active participation in the Democratic Party.

Writing in the September issue of *Newsletter of the Democratic Left*, Harrington said, "It is significant that The Democratic Agenda conference in Washington, D.C., on November 12 and 13, will take up these issues and that it has already won the support of several progressive unions as well as of a growing number of Democratic reformers, minority activists, feminists, environmentalists and the like."

Next year more millions of unemployed will still be looking for "Jobs—not promises" . . . if they wait for the union bureaucracy and the Black Democratic leaders to wheedle a few concessions from Carter.

The American Way of Life

Filled with the blues

Ethel Waters is dead. The famous Black singer and actress died September 1 flat broke, living on Social Security and with friends, although in her lifetime she made more than \$1 million.

Born poor in Chester, Pennsylvania, Waters says in her autobiography that she was earning \$4.75 a week as a maid in a Philadelphia hotel, stealing food to eat, when she got her first break in show business.

Her first jobs were singing and dancing in small Black nightclubs. She soon became known as "Sweet Mama Stringbean." Her version of "St. Louis Blues" became classic as did many other songs, including "Takin' a Chance on Love," "Stormy Weather," and "Am I Blue."

The blues flowed from her life. Waters later said, "I sang them out of the depths of the private fire in which I was brought up. Only those who are being burned know what fire is like."

Her fame as a blues singer increased as she became a regular performer in Harlem clubs. It was there, at the Cotton Club, that Irving Berlin heard her sing "Stormy Weather," and in 1933 offered her a part in *As Thousands Cheer*, her first Broadway show.

Among her many accomplishments as a stage and motion picture actress, Waters won praise from theater critics for her Broadway performance in *Africana*, an all-Black musical revue, and received an Academy Award nomination for her performance in *Pinky* in 1949. She was again nominated for the award in 1952 for her dramatic depiction of a maid in Carson McCullers's play, *The Member of the Wedding*.

The parts written for Black women then were mostly limited to servants' roles, and Waters later became well-known for her television acting in the *Beulah* series and for the role of Dilsey in *The Sound and Fury*.

For the last twenty years of her life, Ethel Waters worked for Billy Graham's religious crusades, although apparently, she never saw any of the millions of dollars she helped him rake in.

This woman who started out as a maid, and became world famous through sheer talent and determination for her portrayals of maids in scores of films and plays, went out as she came in: poor, Black, and filled with the blues.

—Joanne Tortorici

Issues remain

Chrysler rehires most UAW wildcat strikers

By Robert Miller

DETROIT—Shortly before Labor Day this year United Auto Workers Vice-president Marc Stepp, director of the union's Chrysler Department, announced a tentative and partial agreement between union and management on unjustly discharged auto workers.

Thousands of UAW members in the Detroit area had walked off their jobs and set up picket lines during the July-August heat wave. Leaders of the walkouts were summarily fired, some jailed.

Although UAW officials ordered the strikers back to work, Stepp now charges Chrysler with "failure to adhere to existing plant-level agreements concerning heat passes."

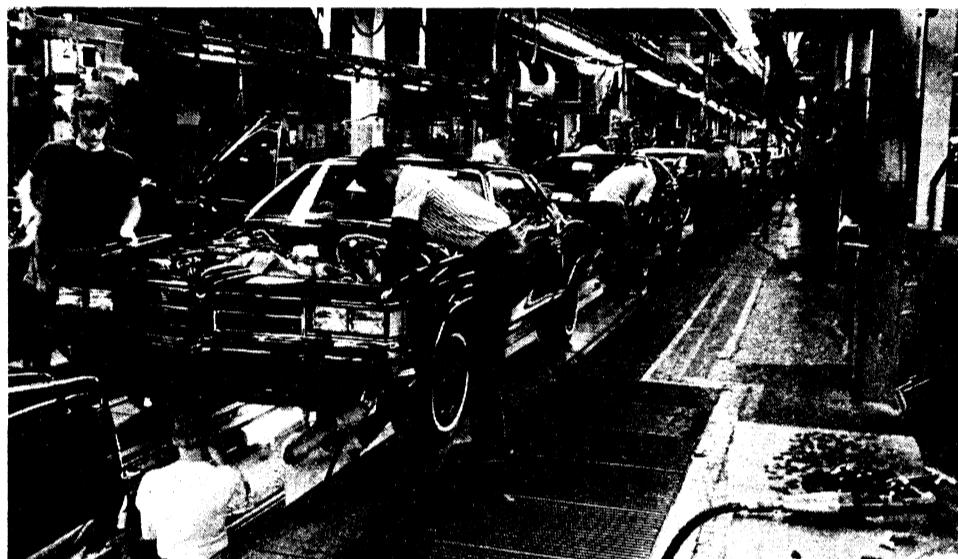
The job-action response of the workers demonstrated their determination to fight the callous disregard by

at the time, "Wildcats and other actions by the rank and file are seen as a real threat by the UAW leadership. They are afraid of the tendency for struggles around immediate issues to quickly develop into larger struggles to democratize the union."

The UAW officialdom consciously and cleverly short-circuits any development of a class-struggle alternative within the union. They do not hesitate to work with the companies to victimize militant workers. This is standard procedure, day in and day out. Many auto workers quickly get the idea that union officials are working as much against them as the foremen and other company officials.

Few workers are led to believe, however, that they can bypass the union and win concessions.

Irrational demands and foolish at-



the corporations of health-and-safety clauses in their union contract.

In negotiations with top UAW officials, Chrysler eventually agreed to reinstate by September 1 all discharged workers. No mention was made of lost pay for the victims.

Also, there are some exceptions. Seven members of UAW Local 372 at Chrysler's engine plant in Trenton, Michigan, will not be rehired. They are charged with contempt of federal court orders.

Stepp says, "If Chrysler goes ahead with these firings, the union will process grievances in behalf of these seven workers, *all the way to arbitration*" (emphasis added).

This public stance against the corporation is prompted, in large part, by the character of the summer heat walkouts. They were more widespread than in the past. There was more unity in favor of the job actions within each plant. The struggle was more prolonged, with repeated walkouts at the same plants. Blacks, women, and young workers were in the forefront of this upsurge.

The wildcats were limited in effectiveness, however. They tended to erupt like explosions, quickly peak, and then die down. There was no effort to link up the struggles at different plants. A strategy to push the fight forward was lacking.

Strikers were unable to win their most important demands—immediate rehiring of fired workers, and the right to close plants when management violates the union agreement.

During the height of the walkouts immense pressure to return to work was brought by both the corporation and top UAW leaders. The companies appeared unwilling to grant even minimal concessions. Union officials refused to negotiate grievances while plants were closed.

One of the strikers at the Lynch Road Chrysler plant, Terry Bell, said

tempts to discredit the union by ultraleft radical sects have, in some instances, divided the ranks, encouraged small groups of workers in isolated acts of bravado, and led to victimizations.

The UAW bureaucracy uses such incidents to project its "arbiter of justice" image—the power that stands above local labor-management squabbles and hands down judicious decisions in accordance with the contract and the rules of collective bargaining.

In line with this concept, Stepp declares, "We will no longer tolerate outsiders who choose to interfere in the affairs of our union and its members and who try to obstruct the collective bargaining process, nor will we tolerate management's callous disregard of the health and safety of our members.

"I want to assure all Chrysler workers and all Chrysler locals," he continues, "that I stand ready to work with them to resolve whatever problems they may have, *provided the established procedure is followed*" (emphasis added).

He claims, "Unauthorized walkouts only hamper that procedure severely and preclude me from giving the assistance that may be needed by the membership."

Many members are convinced that if UAW officials could give the "assistance" they promise and if the "established procedure" worked as they say it will, there would be no need for walkouts. But the fact is that walkouts are provoked by management violations.

Union officials, no matter how boldly they talk, are powerless to enforce agreements with management unless they are willing to mobilize the membership. The needs of auto workers will be met when they themselves develop a new leadership willing and able to mobilize the full power of the union in defense of workers' rights.

Continued on page 26

Oil tool bosses attack Houston steelworkers

By Stu Singer

HOUSTON—Most of the candidates for mayor of Houston are lawyers and businessmen. But one candidate works for a living, and she may be walking a picket line in the middle of September.

Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has worked at Hughes Tool Company for four years and is a shop steward in United Steelworkers of America Local 1742.

A meeting of more than 2,000 union members on September 11 voted by a 95 percent majority to reject the contract offer from Hughes and to authorize a strike. The meeting also voted to extend the expiring three-year pact from September 14 to September 18, when a final strike vote will be taken.

Hughes, which manufactures bits for oil drilling, has expanded and prospered along with the oil industry. The company's sales rank it number 448 on the *Fortune* list of 500 top industrial corporations—but in profits Hughes is number 261. Hughes's profits last year were nearly \$40 million.

Diane Sarge explains that Hughes profits in part from paying wages that are about \$1.75 less an hour than wages in the basic steel industry.

"One thing that is particularly galling about our wages," she says, "is the way the company cheated us out of the cost-of-living raise we won in the last contract. They claim it wasn't written in the contract, even though we specifically voted for it."

In addition, Sarge reports, working conditions at the plants have been deteriorating. "There is more and more forced overtime. And they are starting to enforce new or previously ignored rules. For example, they recently declared that you cannot get a cup of coffee during the first hour of your shift."

One of the company demands in the rejected contract offer was to remove virtually all limits on forced overtime.

"At one point," Sarge says, "they started searching lunch boxes and confiscating any literature they found. They are enforcing a very strict policy against absences, and people are getting fired daily."

Defend union democracy

HOUSTON—Supporters of Diane Sarge, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, were physically assaulted September 11 as they distributed campaign literature outside a meeting of United Steelworkers Local 1742, the local to which Sarge belongs.

W.R. Morris, president of the local, led eight people in the attack on the leaflets, destroying their literature, including copies of the *Militant*. He warned Sarge's supporters not to pass out literature again, either outside union meetings or at the plant gate of Hughes Tool Company.

Sarge issued a statement condemning the attack as "an attempt to deny the rights of union members to participate in politics."

"Our union must unconditionally support the right of anyone to distribute literature, both at the plant gate and outside union meetings," Sarge said. "Any denial of this right makes the union appear weak and undemocratic."

The steelworker candidate urged Local 1742 members and other unionists and civil libertarians to protest the September 11 incident.



Militant/Lynn Henderson
STEELWORKER DIANE SARGE: Socialist is only worker in Houston mayoral race.

"I'm especially conscious of these things as a shop steward. Our experience recently is that if we cannot settle an issue right in the shop, it won't get settled at all."

"Some shop supervisors," she says, "refuse to even discuss grievances and just tell the grievors to write them up. That means more and more that the grievance will be lost at the next step, or at best that it will drag on for months."

Sarge adds that "the company disrupted the whole grievance procedure when they refused to allow our union president, W.R. Morris, to enter the plant. That lasted for six months until we won in arbitration."

Working conditions are also under attack at other oil tool industry plants in Houston.

"I have heard from workers at Hydril that conditions were getting bad during the negotiations leading up to their contract," Sarge says. "But since the contract was signed, the company has really gone wild."

"Shop stewards and even union officers have been ordered back to their machines just for arguing a grievance. Many workers have been fired on trumped-up charges, and others have quit because of the pressure."

"I have even heard that management has tried to provoke fistfights. I know that union activists there want to prevent this kind of victimization."

Sarge feels that a united, fighting response must begin to be organized through the unions to protect the workers.

Sarge has gotten a good response to her campaign literature distributed at Hughes. "People don't agree with every point, but we're able to discuss the issues," she says.

"For example, I've been able to convince a number of workers, especially Blacks, that deportations should be stopped and that Mexican workers should have the same rights as everyone else. They see it as another case of racism and discrimination, and they are right."

Many workers, Sarge has found, agree with her proposal that the unions break with the Democratic and Republican parties and form a labor party—"but they don't think the unions will do it. And they don't feel yet that they themselves are strong enough to change the direction of our union."

But, she adds, the workers are contemptuous of the capitalist-party candidates and "people tell me they are proud that one of us is running."

"With a strike possible, a lot of workers have asked me to use the time I get on radio and television to win support for our union. I certainly intend to do that."

By Cindy Jaquith

Two recent reports spotlight the blows dealt to women workers by the current economic crisis.

Affirmative action. Women have lost 10 percent of the unionized jobs in heavy industry they won through affirmative-action programs over the last decade. The Bureau of the Census reports that women held a high of 38 percent of these jobs in 1973, but by 1975 the proportion had plummeted to 28 percent, the same number as in 1967.

Unionization. For the first time in fifteen years, there has been a decline in overall union membership, produced in great part by layoffs of women workers. Four hundred thousand of the 767,000 workers no longer in the unions are women.

These statistics underscore the challenge facing the largest women's rights organization in the unions, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). From September 15-18, CLUW will hold its third national convention in Washington, D.C.

While the picture for women in the unions is grim, it is not one-sided. There is increased ferment among working women today, as they seek a way to fight back against the attacks on their rights. Delegates to the CLUW convention have an opportunity to develop a program of action for organizing these women and mobilizing the power of the labor movement behind their demands.

Upcoming battles

This convention occurs on the eve of important battles for the labor and women's liberation movements.

- **Bakke case.** This fall the U.S. Supreme Court will rule on the *Bakke* case. The California Supreme Court has already decided that special-admissions programs for Black and Chicano students at the University of California constitute "reverse discrimination" against whites. If the U.S. Supreme Court fails to overturn this racist decision, it will have major implications for both women and minorities on every level of affirmative action.

As yet, CLUW has taken no public position on *Bakke*. But much of the labor officialdom has, unfortunately, sided with opponents of affirmative action in this case.

- **Abortion.** As Congress reconvenes, senators and representatives are putting the finishing touches on the Hyde amendment to cut off Medicaid funds for abortion. CLUW has spoken out against previous versions of this amendment, but has yet to take a stand against the current anti-abortion bill.

- **International Women's Year.** On November 18-21, thousands of women will pour into Houston for the International Women's Year conference, which is shaping up as a national battle between antiwoman, antilabor forces, and supporters of women's rights. CLUW members are among the delegates to the gathering.

In charting a course for CLUW's

Union women & fight for equal rights

Challenge facing CLUW



Militant/Lou Howort
Coalition of Labor Union Women contingent at New York women's rights rally August 27. Women trade unionists are searching today for way to defend their rights.

future activities, delegates to the CLUW convention will also want to assess what the organization has been able to accomplish since its founding in March 1974.

Impact of feminism

The first CLUW convention was a dramatic reflection of the direct impact the women's liberation movement has had on women workers. The more than 3,200 unionists in attendance, 20 percent of them Black, signaled the potential to bring the full weight of organized labor—the most powerful social force in the country—into the struggle for women's rights. And it signaled big changes going on in the unions themselves, as the formation of Black caucuses had done at an earlier time.

The convention adopted a statement of purpose, which is all the more relevant today in light of the current offensive against women's rights. The statement singles out such issues as affirmative action, child care, equality in hiring and promotions, pregnancy benefits, and organizing unorganized women as key areas of concern.

The statement also emphasizes that: "Full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force require the full attention of the labor movement . . . and especially the full attention of women who are part of the labor movement."

"The primary purposes of this national coalition are to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine our common problems and concerns and to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives," the statement says.

It need hardly be said that if the top

labor officials in this country had been doing their job all along, the unions would have thrown their resources behind the women's liberation struggle from the start. The formation of CLUW was an expression of the impatience of women with the failure of the labor bureaucracy to meet their needs, and a realization that if the unions are ever to serve their large female component, women workers themselves will have to take the initiative.

'Message' to officials

This spirit was summed up at the founding convention by the late Myra Wolfgang, then vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees union. Wolfgang told delegates this historic event was sending a message:

"It's a message for George Meany. And if his line is busy, it's a message for Leonard Woodcock. And if his line is busy, it's a message for Frank Fitzsimmons.

"And when you get home, you can

tell them we didn't come here to swap recipes!"

In the next few months, CLUW supporters took that message to their sisters in unions across the country. Dozens of CLUW chapters were organized and the coalition grew to a membership of 5,000 in its second year.

The response of rank-and-file union women to CLUW was proof that this was an idea whose time had come. At the same time, the new organization faced problems from the start.

Within the labor movement, CLUW confronted an entrenched bureaucracy committed to collaboration with the bosses and reliance on the Democratic Party, not independent struggle for the needs of the union membership. These misleaders of labor made no pretense of hiding their hostility to the demands of Blacks and women, especially around such issues as affirmative action. While the top-level bureaucrats gave grudging support to CLUW, they aimed to keep the new coalition within bounds.

In the women's liberation movement, the same strategy of dependence on capitalist politicians was predominant, particularly among the more conservative leaders of groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The newly formed CLUW had the opportunity to break out of the vise of this self-defeating approach. By carrying out activities in line with its program, it could attract the many rank-and-file women looking for a means to fight for their rights through the unions, setting an example for both the unions and for other women's groups.

But unfortunately, CLUW has thus far been unable to effectively put the perspective embodied in its statement of purpose into action. And this has had grave effects on the development of CLUW.

One of the most important tests for CLUW has been the issue of affirmative action.

In 1974, as the recession began to eat away at the percentage of women and Blacks in the work force, the labor bureaucracy vehemently refused to recognize the need to defend affirmative action. Instead, Meany and company counterposed defense of "strict seniority" to protection of the jobs won through affirmative-action struggles.

CLUW's responsibility in this debate was to campaign on behalf of the women it seeks to represent—to reject any reduction whatsoever in jobs won through affirmative action and to campaign to win over the rest of the labor movement to its position.

However, the majority of CLUW officials, under tremendous pressure from the AFL-CIO and United Auto Workers heads, did not take a firm stand in defense of affirmative action and against the reactionary "strict seniority" line.

At CLUW's December 1975 convention, a significant number of members favored reversal of this position and a reaffirmation of CLUW's uncompromising support to affirmative action. But the issue never came to the floor because of opposition from conservative forces in the leadership.

With the new attacks on affirmative action—the Supreme Court's ruling last May that seniority systems discriminating by race are not necessarily illegal, and the impending *Bakke* Continues on page 26

Meat Cutters set ERA meeting

A conference to discuss action to win the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia has been set for October 30 in Richmond, sponsored by several locals of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen union in the state.

The conference committee, Labor for Equal Rights Now, urges all Virginia unions and pro-ERA organizations to participate.

Keynote speaker at the meeting will be Addie Wyatt, an international vice-president and director of women's affairs for the Meat Cutters. Wyatt is also the national vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Last Hired, First Fired

Affirmative Action Vs. Seniority

Includes "The Debate Over Seniority and Affirmative Action," "The NAACP and the Struggle for Full Equality," and "The AFL-CIO and the Seniority System."

By Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 32 pp., \$5.00

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

By George Novack

Every uncompromising fighter against injustice runs the risk of becoming the target of frame-ups, slanders, and vilifications by its perpetrators. That has been the lot of Reza Baraheni, one of Iran's most distinguished poets and literary critics.

Since his arrival in the United States at the end of 1974, he has been the most effective exposer of the crimes and cruelties of the shah of Iran's regime. His public speeches, TV and radio appearances, the books and articles he has written in English, and his testimony before a congressional subcommittee have presented a devastating documentation of repression in Iran.

In these efforts he has collaborated with such civil liberties organizations as Amnesty International, PEN, and the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), of which he is an honorary cochairperson.

The recent publication of his widely acclaimed work, *The Crowned Cannibals*, has enabled more Americans to pierce the screen of the shah's deceitful propaganda and see Iran for what it is today—the country with the largest number of political prisoners in the world.

These untiring activities have not left Professor Baraheni unscathed. They have earned him the hostility of various forces that have tried, each for its own reasons, to discredit his testimony, impugn his character, and besmirch his reputation.

At the head of the pack is the shah himself and the dreaded secret police agents of the SAVAK, who have threatened Baraheni's life and the safety of his family. Trailing behind them are certain witting and unwitting transmitters of their lies—from the right-wing columnist Tom Braden to some Maoist-minded students on the Left motivated by political and ideological disagreements with Baraheni.

Another reason for the formation of this unholy alliance against him is the fact that Baraheni belongs to an oppressed nationality, the Azerbaijanis, with a language and culture of its own. Sixty percent of the 33 million inhabitants of Iran are non-Persians, Baluchis, Kurds, Arabs, and Azerbaijanis. Yet the shah has imposed the Persian language and culture upon them all.

To the consternation of Persian chauvinists, Baraheni has become the voice of these voiceless millions oppressed by the shah's tyranny. Furthermore, Baraheni has spoken out vigorously against the degradation of women in Iran.

As a member of an oppressed minority in Iran, as a writer who actively opposed the government censorship in the 1960s, and as a political prisoner tortured for 102 days in the shah's jails in 1973 before international publicity succeeded in freeing him, Baraheni has become the most convincing first-hand witness to the suppression of political rights and the suppression of linguistic and cultural rights in Iran.

He has consistently alerted world opinion to the hypocrisy of the shah, who denies the existence of some 100,000 political prisoners, proclaiming that his jails hold only 4,000 "Marxists."

Source of the slanders

At a press conference in Noshahr August 8, 1976, in the presence of Henry Kissinger, a reporter asked the shah about the report of the International Commission of Jurists confirming the torture of political prisoners. The shah answered, "I cannot confirm what others have claimed in the past. The person who is now teaching in some American universities was himself an element of our own secret police. Did you know that?" (Reported in *Kayhan*, air edition, August 18, 1976.)

According to the semiofficial daily *Kayhan*, when asked for the person's name, the shah responded, "I don't want to say anything on this subject. Anyway, who cares about his name. . . ."

However, American reporters have commented—off the record—that, in fact, the shah did name Reza Baraheni as the alleged agent. A February 1977 editorial in the same organ attacked Amnesty International for publishing a pamphlet documenting the conditions of the political prisoners and repeated the calumny against Baraheni.

Meanwhile Tom Braden, a syndicated columnist with reported ties to the CIA, wrote a column entitled, "Who is Baraheni?" (*North Penn Reporter & Daily Reporter*, Lansdale, Pennsylvania, Febru-

ary 17, 1977), which picked up and embroidered the slanderous charge.

Although admitting that Baraheni's vigorous defense of political prisoners had convinced many that "our ally Iran is a chamber of horrors," Braden claimed he had "investigated" Baraheni and discovered that he "served for many years as an agent provocateur for the Iranian Intelligence Service," his job being to "complain" in the United States about human rights in Iran.

According to Braden, Baraheni could turn over to SAVAK the names of Iranian students who agreed with him. Braden tried to explain away Baraheni's prison term by claiming it was "only a cover" to make him a more effective SAVAK agent.

Braden also said that he learned from a "distinguished professor of Persian literature at a famous American University" that Baraheni had once worked for SAVAK. The unnamed professor even doubted that Baraheni had been tortured.

When he contacted Amnesty International, Braden was told that it does not believe these stories and will continue to work with Baraheni. Yet Braden suggested that the State Department investigate the matter and tell the American public whether to believe Baraheni or not. This might jeopardize Baraheni's further stay in this country.

The collusion between these sources in seeking to discredit Baraheni and his work has been further promoted in a publication issued by the Iranian government in 1977 devoted to slandering Iranian students and political groups abroad. Entitled *The Confederation of Iranian Students*, this book asserts that Baraheni had "no moral integrity left" after "establishing a series of sexual relationships with his female students" and committing wife-beating and adultery. There is, of course, not one word documenting these scurrilous charges.

The book claims that Baraheni "collaborated with SAVAK" while teaching at Tehran University, but the relationship was eventually severed by SAVAK. Thereafter, the government book continues, ". . . Baraheni published a communist-oriented article and involved himself in a series of Marxist propaganda activities. Because these activities were against Iranian law, he was imprisoned. While captive, he claimed he was not a Marxist and that he got involved in such activities in order to attract sympathy. He asked permission to appear in a radio-television-press conference and inform the public with his real views . . . against Marxism, anarchism and terrorism. After a while, using a grant from Tehran University he departed for the United States."

The book points to Baraheni's "anti-Iranian propaganda" in the United States, citing his testimony before a U.S. House subcommittee. It claims that he "joined the Trotskyists," and this group then set up the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

The book also attributes to Baraheni a Persian translation of the *Communist Manifesto* with an introduction by Trotsky. Expressing concern for the growth of Trotskyism among Iranians, it blames Baraheni for that rapid growth after 1975.

Common thread of slanders

The common thread in all these stories is the assertion that at one time or another Baraheni was a SAVAK agent. But the accounts are factually inaccurate and contradictory.

One government account says that Baraheni served as an agent while teaching at the University of Tehran; Braden makes Baraheni into a SAVAK agent while in this country prior to his 1973 arrest, as well as following his return to the United States in late 1974.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran was not founded with the help of Baraheni, as the book stated, but by Americans and Iranians in the United States in order to defend Baraheni who was imprisoned at that time.

CAIFI's first act was to gather the signatures of forty-five prominent intellectuals and writers for a letter calling upon the Iranian government to release him immediately and restore his full rights. The letter appeared in the December 16, 1973, *New York Times*. On December 22, Baraheni was released.

None of the sources deny Baraheni's arrest, and indeed the government book proclaimed that the arrest was the result of a "communist-oriented article."

Baraheni himself has cited the publication of his article "The Culture of the Oppressor and the Culture of the Oppressed" as the immediate reason for his arrest. In this article he spoke of the need for a university that took into account the local languages and dialects and of schools that could teach the population—which is 80 percent illiterate—in their own languages.

These proposals by themselves are grounds for



SHAH REZA PAHLEVI

Behind lies about Irania

being labeled a Marxist and subject to imprisonment! The regime so fears the rise of an opposition force from among the oppressed nationalities that mere advocacy of secession of any oppressed nationality is currently a crime of treason punishable by death.

The government book calls Baraheni a Marxist who later recanted. However, Baraheni has never claimed to be a Marxist. As for the assertion that he repudiated terrorism (implying that he once embraced it), Baraheni has stated that, while admiring the courage of Iranian guerrilla fighters, he does not believe terrorism is an effective political weapon.

The book points to Baraheni's appearance on TV shortly after his release from prison. Baraheni has explained that the TV interview did not accurately represent his views. Baraheni wrote a letter protesting that the interview had been cut and deliberately distorted in order to make it appear that he had capitulated, but no newspaper in Iran would print it.

The record of Baraheni's life, activities, and

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

... is a civil liberties organization publicizing the cases of victimized Iranian artists, intellectuals, and political prisoners.

Of the eleven prisoners CAIFI has championed in the last years, five have been released—thanks to the international pressure brought to bear on the shah's regime.



R. REZA BARAHENI

shah's it exiled a poet

writings also stands forth as irrefutable disproof of the slanders against him.

For example, in 1966 the Iranian government sent a directive to all printers ordering every book to be submitted to government censorship. A group of Iranian writers, including Baraheni, protested against this directive to the prime minister himself.

After the government pushed ahead in its censorship, the writers decided to establish an organization that would defend freedom of expression and the country's writers.

In addition to being a founding member of the Writers Association, Baraheni was the head of its Committee for the Campaign Against Censorship in Iran. Many members of this association have been imprisoned or killed by the regime, and many more found that their books did not pass the censor. Baraheni's experience of imprisonment and torture was shared by a whole group of leading Iranian writers who spoke out against the censorship. Some died under mysterious circumstances. The shah mounted a campaign that destroyed the association in its infancy.

The fact that Baraheni alone among those writers who initiated the association has been able to build international support in their defense has made him all the more intolerable to the regime. In addition, Baraheni and CAIFI assisted the defense of the imprisoned writers—several of whom have been released—by initiating the successful 1976 boycott of the Shiraz Art Festival.

The shah and empress sponsor this festival and the Tehran Film Festival in order to glorify themselves as patrons of the arts while they brutally suppress the work of writers and artists within the country.

Eric Bentley, the well-known playwright and critic, issued the call for the boycott. Subsequently, the American dancer Merce Cunningham and his group, American director Robert Wilson, British director Peter Brook, and Polish experimental director Jerzy Grotowski turned down invitations to perform at Shiraz.

Even the Iranian censored papers noted that the "giants are not coming to the art festival," though they could not explain why. None quoted Cunningham's statement that he decided not to perform after learning about the conditions in Iran.

In August 1976, when publicity around the boycott was at its height, Dr. Richard Cottom, a professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh and the author of *Nationalism in Iran*, informed Baraheni "that SAVAK had made the decision to send assassination squads into Europe and the United States." ("SAVAK Activities in U.S. and Europe," *CAIFI Newsletter*, March 1977, page 13).

Cottom, who received this information from a State Department source, subsequently repeated his testimony on Mike Wallace's TV Program *60 Minutes*. These "hit" squads were to execute dissidents in exile, attempting to attribute their deaths to street "muggings." Cottom felt certain that Baraheni's name was at the top of SAVAK's list.

Baraheni immediately moved to expose this conspiracy in a press conference held at the New York office of PEN. He demanded that U.S. government officials guarantee the security of all Iranian oppositionists in the United States and gathered support from many prominent individuals including Ramsey Clarke, former U.S. attorney general. As a result of this outcry and the demands for an investigation, SAVAK has so far been deterred from carrying through its plot.

FBI-SAVAK connection

In late 1976 the American Civil Liberties Union established that the acknowledged head of SAVAK operating in the United States, Mansur Rafizadeh, also functions as a liaison source for the New York office of the FBI. Information on that score was obtained through CIA and State Department documents released under a Freedom of Information suit.

Testimony at a September 8, 1976, congressional hearing by Alfred Atherton, Jr., assistant secretary for near eastern and south Asian affairs, revealed that "it is assumed" that all Iranian students in the United States are under SAVAK's surveillance. ("Shah's Political Police Spy on Iranians in U.S." *Intercontinental Press*, September 20, 1976, page 1336)

The shah himself admitted in an October 24, 1976, TV interview that his secret police operated inside this country *with the approval* of the CIA. Columnist Jack Anderson reported five days later that SAVAK agents carry out operations including illegal burglaries, wire-tapping and forgeries. ("CIA Covering Up for SAVAK in U.S." *Intercontinental Press*, November 8, 1976, page 1587)

Thus, Washington has been complicit with SAVAK's operations. This is not too surprising since SAVAK was set up by the CIA in 1956 in the aftermath of the CIA-sponsored coup which put the shah back on the throne.

Danger of echoing shah's lies

Despite the tremendous work Baraheni has done in telling the truth about the shah's regime, some oppositionists have taken the government-planted rumors for good coin and played into the hands of the shah, who wants to silence Baraheni by any means necessary and pit Iranian dissidents against each other. Among them are some Maoist-oriented students, influenced by ultraleft ideas as well as by Stalinist practices.

On March 16, 1976, at San Jose State University, campus security guards warned Baraheni against speaking because they had received reliable information of a plot to kill him.

On other occasions—Berkeley (January 1975), Boston (February 1975), Austin, Texas, (February 1976) and Los Angeles (May 1977)—groups of Iranian students, along with some American

ultraleftists, attempted to break up meetings where Baraheni spoke in defense of Iranian political prisoners.

Leaflets distributed at these meetings tried to justify the disruption with the false charge that Baraheni is a SAVAK agent. The Maoist-oriented southern California chapter of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) bluntly stated in a recent leaflet: "It is not a secret to millions of Iranian people that Reza Beraheni (sic) is an agent of the fascist regime of the Shah."

Such incitements and physical disruption of meetings can provide the shah's agents with a pretext to assault Baraheni under cover of a squabble between Iranian dissidents. They also greatly

Benefit for Iranian Poets and Writers

with Reza Baraheni, Daniel Berrigan, Ahmad Shamlu, Thiago de Mello, and others.

Sat. Sept. 17, 2 p.m. at St. Clement's Church, 423 W. 46 St.; 246-7277; Donation: \$2.

weaken efforts to unite organizations and individuals, despite their political differences, to defend Iranian political prisoners.

Baraheni has demanded that any individuals or groups alleging he is an agent bring forth proof. For two years he has declared his willingness to participate in a commission of inquiry, composed of a jury of his peers, which could hear evidence and render a verdict. But no one has come forward with any documented evidence to substantiate the falsifications.

As more Americans and Iranians have heard Baraheni speak, incidents of disruption have decreased. Meetings on repression in Iran with Baraheni as a featured speaker have recently been held without incident in Philadelphia, Boston, Washington, D.C., and Portland, Oregon. Wherever hostile Iranian students have attempted to debate Baraheni's credentials, a genuine discussion has taken place, and he has been able to win over many to a better understanding of the political issues underlying the slander campaign and the need for unity in defending the shah's political prisoners.

A new turn of events has made the importance of organizing meetings for Baraheni all the more imperative. Recently, writers in Iran have begun to organize and demand the legal right to reactivate the Writers Association. Forty of the country's best-known writers, composers, and social critics wrote an open letter to the prime minister on June 13, 1977, calling for an end to all censorship.

Upon receiving a copy, Baraheni translated it into English and circulated it internationally. He gathered the signatures of forty prominent American and Iranian writers and academicians backing the demands of the Iranian intellectuals and artists on a letter sent to the prime minister on August 2, 1977.

Among those responding to Baraheni's appeal for support to the forty are Richard Howard, president of the American branch of PEN; the International Freedom to Publish Committee of the Association of American Publishers; Ahmad Shamlu, a noted Iranian poet living in the United States; and several members of the U.S. Congress. CAIFI has circulated a complementary letter signed by thirty-six prominent American, British, and Iranian citizens urging the prime minister not to take punitive action against the writers.

A second open letter signed by ninety-eight writers in Iran appeared on July 19. Translated and distributed by Baraheni, it refutes the Iranian government's assertion that freedom of speech exists in Iran. The writers demand that the text of this letter be published throughout Iran without the slightest alteration.

These initiatives by leading intellectuals are a welcome sign of the reawakening of the movement for civil liberties under the shah. Baraheni himself remains at the center of the opposition abroad to the shah's repression. He, who has so courageously defended the defenseless, himself deserves loyal and continued defense. An informed and enlightened public opinion will be his best shield against the slanders and conspiracies of his enemies.

In *The Crowned Cannibals* Baraheni exposes torture in Iran, the oppression of nationalities and women in that country, the shah's dictatorial rule, and the situation of Iranian writers. The book also contains many of his recent poems.

A Vintage paperback. Available for \$3.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Profits vs. jobs, environment

Socialist blasts U.S. Steel 'blackmail'

By Susan Beck

PITTSBURGH—"The air quality today is unsatisfactory."

These words greet the people of the Pittsburgh area almost every day. If U.S. Steel and the Democratic and Republican politicians of Allegheny County have their way, the air and water here will remain "unsatisfactory" forever.

In a widely reported news conference here September 6, Howard "Buddy" Beck, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, accused U.S. Steel of blackmailing the people of Pittsburgh to increase its profits.

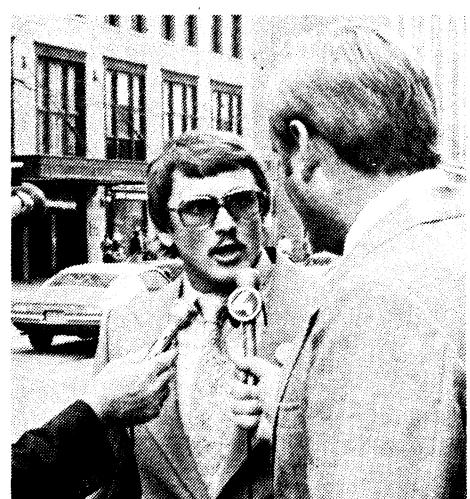
U.S. Steel is using the threat of layoffs, Beck said, to try to overturn federal pollution control standards. "They are attacking the rights of the people of this city to breath clean air and drink clean water," he charged.

The socialist candidate, a twenty-six-year-old machinist and shop steward in the International Association of Machinists, blasted his opponents in both the Democratic and Republican parties for "trying to fool the people of Pittsburgh into supporting U.S. Steel's drive for profits at the expense of jobs and health."

U.S. Steel announced in August that it will close a blast furnace at Homestead Works rather than install water pollution control equipment as it had pledged to do one year ago. The shutdown would mean an immediate layoff of 200 workers.

Permission to pollute

The corporation had asked the federal Environmental Protection Agency for approval to continue water pollution unabated until 1980. When the EPA refused, U.S. Steel announced the shutdown and accused the EPA of being "insensitive," "arbitrary," and showing "disregard for steelworkers' jobs."



Militant/Greta Hill

Socialist candidate Howard Beck at news conference on steps of U.S. Steel headquarters in Pittsburgh.

A second dispute concerns U.S. Steel's Clairton Coke Works, which spews pollution into the air at a rate of some 116 tons a day.

Under an agreement signed last year with the EPA and state and county authorities, the Clairton plant remains free to violate pollution standards until 1986. U.S. Steel promised that during that time it would spend \$600 million to modernize Clairton Works, including \$90 million for pollution controls.

Last month, however, Congress adopted amendments to the Federal Clean Air Act that mandate the EPA to review agreements such as the one with U.S. Steel. There is a remote possibility the corporation might be fined if it continues to violate the pollution laws beyond 1982, and steel executives are screaming like stuck pigs.

Beck put the blame for the attacks on both jobs and the environment squarely on the corporate profit drive.

"Under current economic conditions it's more profitable for the steel industry to lay off than to rebuild its furnaces," he said. "It's more profitable to pollute than to clean up. So the argument comes down to one thing—*profits* versus jobs and *profits* versus clean air and water."

Enforcers

The Allegheny County Commissioners—including Thomas Foerster, Beck's Democratic Party opponent for mayor of Pittsburgh—are acting as enforcers for U.S. Steel's extortion plot.

County Commissioner Robert Peirce called for "an all-out war on EPA. The problem is that EPA is inflexible. . . ." he said. "EPA seems to be protecting foreign steel more than the American citizen."

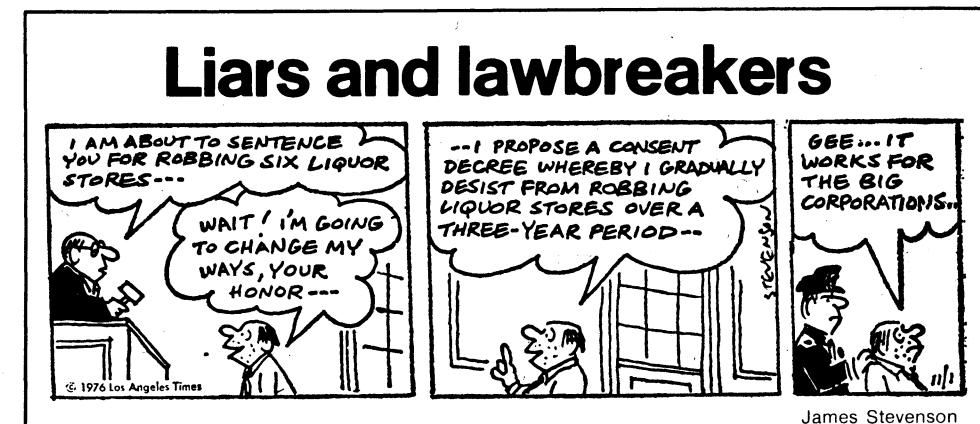
This echoes the industry argument that its problems are the result of "unfair" competition from imported steel.

The commissioners are reportedly preparing legal action against the EPA if it tries to make U.S. Steel clean up.

Beck called the commissioners' stand "a cynical maneuver being orchestrated by U.S. Steel." He noted that the commissioners' own proposal for Homestead was to allow U.S. Steel to continue polluting for two years . . . and then shut down the blast furnace.

The Democrats and Republicans are not concerned about saving jobs, Beck charged, but only about protecting corporate profits.

Thomas Foerster, the Democratic mayoral candidate, used to have a reputation as an environmentalist. Now Foerster says, "I think it is time to forget some of the intemperate envir-



James Stevenson

When it comes to complying with pollution control laws, the steel corporations are among the biggest liars and lawbreakers in the country.

• At Clairton Coke Works, U.S. Steel signed an antipollution agreement (consent decree) in 1972. The next year, state and county environmental authorities found 241 violations of that agreement. They asked that U.S. Steel be cited for contempt of court and fined \$3 million.

Instead, U.S. Steel got to sign yet another consent decree in 1976—this time allowing it to *continue* violating emissions standards through 1986 so long as it promised to modernize the plant. Steel executives toasted the victory. "They didn't even get fined," one boasted.

Business Week magazine noted at the time, "Few observers feel that the company's spending plans will bring it into compliance with air quality regulations."

Sure enough, here we go again. . . .

• Almost exactly one year ago, **Jones & Laughlin Steel** failed to meet a deadline for curbing coke-oven pollution at its Pittsburgh Works. The deadline was contained in a consent decree J&L had signed in October 1975. J&L officials said they should not be punished because they were making "a good faith effort."

• Back in 1972 **Bethlehem Steel** signed an agreement with the Pennsylvania Department of Environmental Resources to clean up its coke ovens in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, within four years. When the department checked in 1976, they found the company had made no progress whatsoever.

Last month, Bethlehem announced they were shutting down the ovens for good. They said it would cost too much to comply with the law.

onmental battles of the past. The circumstances of today make the whole battle entirely different."

Foerster has called on public officials in other steelmaking areas to join a united pressure campaign for greater steel import restrictions and a rollback of pollution standards.

Open the books

Socialist candidate Beck has a different proposal. He told the *Militant* that the books of U.S. Steel should be opened to inspection by the unions and environmentalists.

"We have to reason to believe U.S. Steel's claims that they cannot afford to operate cleanly," Beck said. "Right now working people simply don't have the facts to decide how to respond to the steel companies' demands."

"What are their real profits?

"How much would pollution controls really cost?"

"Is U.S. Steel secretly planning to shut down some of these facilities

anyway, and only using pollution laws as an excuse?

"The only way to find out is to inspect all their books and records."

Beck declared that "working people need both jobs and a clean environment—and we can have both if human needs are put above profits."

He said that as a socialist mayor he would push for tougher and stricter pollution standards and for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create thousands of jobs.

"If U.S. Steel and the other steel companies refused to comply or threatened to move out," Beck told the *Militant*, "they should be nationalized and run by democratically elected committees of workers."

Imports not the enemy

As a socialist mayor, Beck said, "I would explain the need for all working people to reject the argument that foreign steel is the enemy. If other countries produce steel more efficiently, working people around the world should benefit from this, not pay for the refusal of U.S. steel companies to use their profits to modernize their operations."

"Trade restrictions can lead to trade wars, and trade wars threaten to lead to world wars," he added.

"I would also use my office to work toward creating a political party based on the unions and acting in the interest of all working people, a labor party."

"The current Homestead and Clairton debates illustrate the general attack now underway against the jobs and living conditions of working people, and show how the Democratic and Republican parties lead this attack on working people's rights."

"A labor party would fight for working people—for jobs, for clean air and water, for women's right to abortion, for the right of Black children to decent education—instead of against us."

Beck challenged his Democratic and Republican opponents to debate him on Homestead and Clairton, the environment, steel imports, and job losses.

What stand for steel union?

PITTSBURGH—What stand should the United Steelworkers of America take on the steel companies' threats to shut down plants because of steel imports and pollution controls?

Some USWA officials in Pennsylvania are going along with the blackmail scheme. Last month Walter Dealtry, president of the Bethlehem Chamber of Commerce, and Paul McHale, USWA District 9 director, announced they were joining forces in a fight against steel imports.

They blamed imports for the recent layoffs by Bethlehem Steel in Lackawanna, New York, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania.

The business executive and the union official called for a petition

campaign urging that President Carter "not cling to an unrealistic commitment to free trade."

Paul Lewis, USWA District 15 director, has joined Pittsburgh politicians in condemning antipollution laws.

According to the September 6 *Pittsburgh Press*, Lewis "said that Pennsylvania has reached a 'saturation point' where environmental standards for the steel industry have become so rigid that the industry can no longer afford to comply."

Howard "Buddy" Beck, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh, told the *Militant* that "these procompany positions by union officials are not the way to save jobs."

"Fortunately," Beck said, "some leaders of the steelworkers are

speaking out against the companies' attack on jobs and the environment."

He cited statements by Jim Balanoff, director of USWA District 31 in Chicago-Gary, who condemns the import scare as a "bogeyman."

"Balanoff has explained that the source of the American steel companies' problems is not imports but their own economic policies—such as monopoly pricing," Beck said.

"And he's explained that the enemy of U.S. steelworkers is not Japanese steelworkers but the drive by the steel corporations to cut costs by eliminating jobs."

"The only way to protect jobs," Beck concluded, "is through a struggle against the profiteering schemes of the steel corporations."

Steelworkers standing firm

Iron ore strike: companies agree to talk

By Andy Rose

Major steel companies have agreed to resume negotiations with striking locals of the United Steelworkers of America for the first time since 18,000 iron ore workers walked out August 1.

The companies had previously refused to negotiate, claiming that the strike in the iron ore mines and processing plants of Minnesota and northern Michigan is illegal.

Federal mediators and Minnesota politicians have for weeks made a show of trying to get the companies and unions to the bargaining table. They never explained, of course, that company intransigence was the only obstacle to talks.

The blandishments of mediators, however, probably had less effect on the steel corporations than the fact that the strikers were still standing firm after six weeks on the picket lines.

"I imagine that they [the companies] are starting to feel the pinch a little bit too now," Joe Samargia, president of USWA Local 1938, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview. With 3,400 members at U.S. Steel's Minntac plant in Mountain Iron, Minnesota, Local 1938 is the largest local on strike.

Samargia pointed to several recent developments that have strengthened the workers' ability to hold out in a long strike.

On September 12 county authorities on the Mesabi Iron Range agreed to establish a work program that strikers will be eligible for. It will provide 1,250 jobs for one week at a time. "The companies screamed that it was setting a precedent of taking care of strikers," Samargia said with a chuckle.

But the county board of commissioners approved the program anyway. The strikers had recently demonstrated their clout to local businesses with a boycott of a previously popular bar whose owner had been badmouthing the strike.

Boost to morale

On September 14 the USWA International Executive Board was scheduled to meet. President Lloyd McBride had pledged an increase in the strike benefits—now twenty dollars a week—going to the iron ore workers.

The biggest boost to morale, though, was the decision by Federal District Judge Miles Lord that the steel companies must continue to advance medical insurance premiums for the strikers. The corporations had threatened in mid-August to cancel insurance coverage unless the strikers themselves came up with an average \$100 monthly payment.

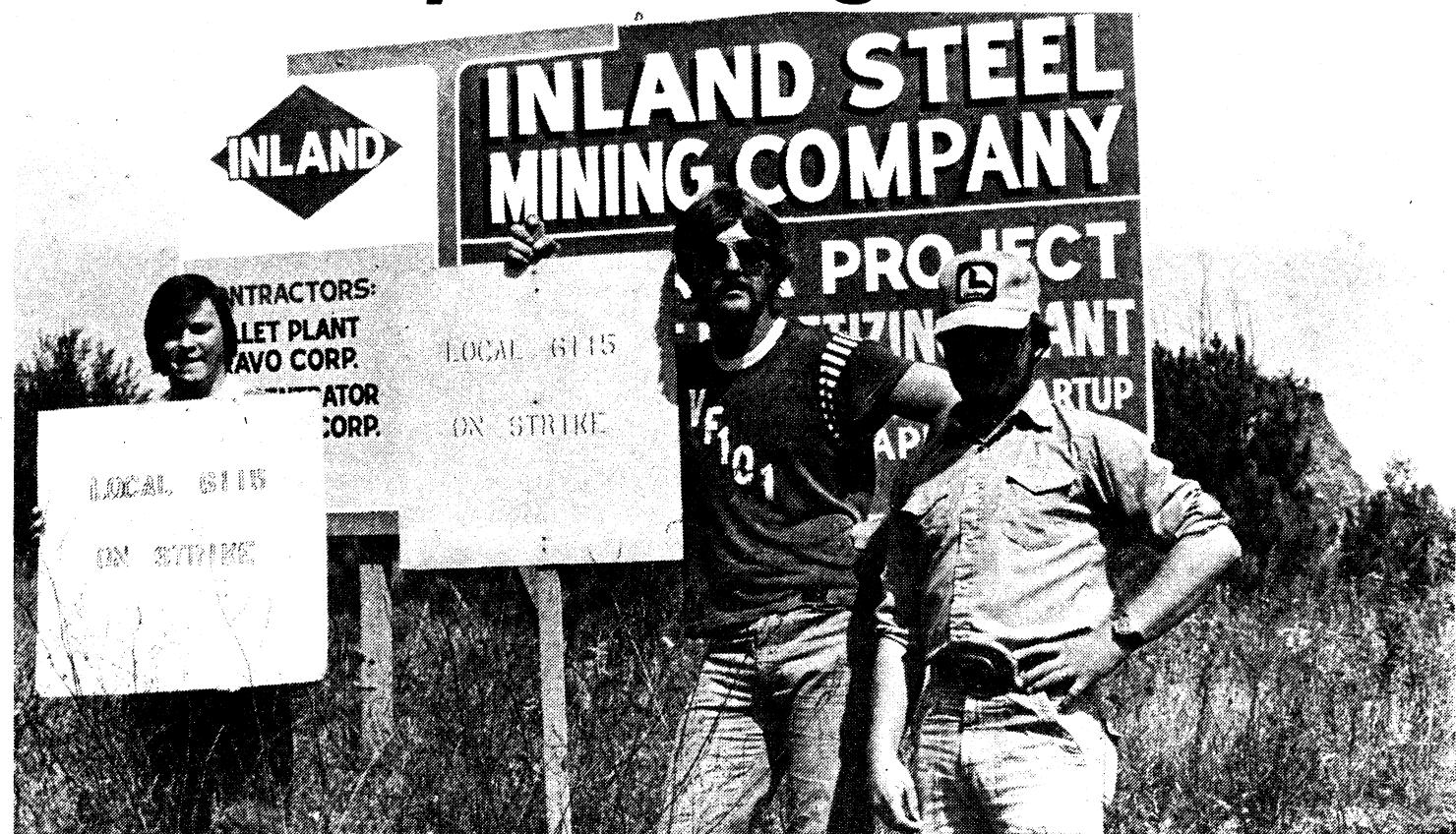
In a dramatic midnight decision August 31, Judge Lord not only ruled that the company threat violated the insurance agreement with the union. He also dismissed the main company argument—the alleged illegality of the strike—as irrelevant. And he ripped into the companies for endangering the health and well being of thousands of workers and their families.

Noting that a U.S. Steel executive had referred to the strike as "war," Lord said, "Even in war they have the rules of the Geneva conference to spare the women and children."

The companies had argued that the union should pay the insurance premiums from its \$95 million strike fund. In rejecting this contention, Judge Lord commented, "I wouldn't even begin to add up the net worth and the profit picture of the defendants [companies]."

Steel company executives, who had been counting on the insurance burden to demoralize the strikers, sat stony-faced as Lord read his decision. It was a startling change from the standard strikebreaking role and antiunion attitude of the courts.

Judge Lord achieved national promi-



Militant/Andy Rose

Local 6115 President John Perko (right) says: 'People are realizing what these companies are all about—the almighty dollar. They don't have any feelings.'

nence for his earlier sharp rulings against Reserve Mining Company's pollution of Lake Superior.

Welcome relief

The companies immediately appealed Lord's ruling and the outcome is still undetermined. But for now the decision has provided welcome relief for the strikers.

"With the insurance taken care of and the increase in strike benefits, everybody's holding together real well," Samargia said.

The attack on medical care for the workers and their families has had another effect: the companies did not count on—it has strengthened the determination of many strikers to hold tough until they win.

When I visited the Mesabi Iron Range in late August, John Perko, president of USWA Local 6115 at Inland Steel's Minorca plant, put it this way: "The insurance deal is convincing a lot of people that this company doesn't care. If you're sick, if your kids are sick, if your wife is pregnant—they don't care."

"It scares you, but it makes you mad. People are realizing what these companies are all about—the almighty dollar. They don't have any feelings."

Perko believes the experience of the strike is raising the consciousness of workers about the union and their role in it.

"There has always been a fear of the companies up here," he said. "At U.S. Steel especially, if a foreman barks, guys would run."

"With this strike, you'll see a different attitude when we go back to work. You won't see anybody jumping at command."

"Now we're saying we're a little more equal. We're saying we've got as much power as they do. And that's a better way to deal."

Long battle

The strikers face a long, hard battle against the steel companies. Despite their agreement to negotiate, the corporations are reportedly still holding to their position that the strike is illegal and refusing to consider key strike demands.

The companies have focused on the demand for local incentive-pay plans to bring iron ore workers' wages up to the level of wages in basic steel mills. The companies insist this is a national issue, not a local one, and therefore not

strikeable under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by top USWA leaders in 1973.

Strikers point out that all incentive-pay plans in steel are locally negotiated. They also note that the companies are stonewalling on hundreds of other issues concerning health and safety, seniority agreements, and work practices.

One union official was quoted in the *Minneapolis Star* as saying, "As far as I can tell they [the companies] haven't changed their position on anything."

The steelworkers are preparing for a strike lasting well into the winter. Picket headquarters equipped with telephones and heat are set up at the main plant entrances. At major plants picketing continues around the clock.

In addition to seeking strike benefits, welfare, and food stamps, strikers are

aiding each other. A skilled electrician, for example, will help fellow strikers with electrical work.

Change in attitude?

As the strike continues, there remains the danger that top international union officials will pressure the strikers to drop many of their demands in the name of achieving "labor peace."

President McBride has already publicly called for "a change in attitude on both sides" (emphasis added) to settle the strike.

When I showed McBride's statement to one leading strike activist, he responded emphatically: "My attitude ain't changing. If you're going to go out for weeks and go through that hardship, and then drop what you're fighting for, you might as well never have gone out in the first place."

Support the strikers!

The battle on the iron range is no ordinary strike.

It is part of a nationwide offensive by the steel corporations to increase their profits at the expense of workers' jobs, wages, and safety—and to intimidate the United Steelworkers union into accepting these attacks.

In fighting back against this offensive, the iron ore strikers are in the forefront of defending the interests of all working people.

They need and deserve the support of other steelworkers and of the entire labor movement.

Steel union leaders on the Mesabi Iron Range say that financial support is badly needed. Contributions can be sent to:

District 33 Strike and Defense Fund
United Steelworkers of America
334 West Superior
Duluth, Minnesota 55802

Messages of support are also greatly appreciated. One strike leader explained that messages are read aloud at each local meeting.

"You can't eat messages," he said, "but it sure makes you feel good, because you know somebody gives a damn about you."

In addition to the district office, messages may be sent to the big U.S. Steel Minntac local at:

USWA Local 1938
307 North 1st Street
Virginia, Minnesota 55792

Chicago-area steel union locals have already begun to set an example of solidarity.

At its August 24 meeting, Local 65 at U.S. Steel's South Works adopted a resolution of support to the iron range strikers. The local voted to send \$1,000 right away to aid the strike and \$500 a month for the duration.

Local 65 activists are discussing other steps, such as inviting speakers from the striking locals and collecting canned goods to send to strikers' families.

Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, also passed a resolution of support. It sent \$100 to its sister local—Local 6115 at Inland's Minorca plant—and local leaders are planning to send larger donations.

Jim Balanoff, director of the Chicago-Gary District 31, is encouraging other locals in the district to send money and invite speakers down from the iron range.

Linda Ray is a nurse in San Francisco. She voted for SWP candidates during the national elections in 1972 and 1976, but only joined the party in August.



Attacks on abortion rights, such as the Hyde amendment, which cuts off Medicaid payment for legal abortions, convinced Ray to join the SWP. "Something clicked in me, and I wanted to do more," she said.

As a nurse, Ray has seen the effects of botched, illegal abortions. She recalled thinking, "There's someone who is gone who was alive because she was pregnant and couldn't get help."

"They're sentencing women to death by making legal abortions unavailable," she said. "And they're trying to force poor women into sterilization. It's a double-edged danger."

Ray is a member of the National Organization for Women and eager to do work defending abortion rights. "I think all women feel very strongly about these issues. Abortion has just been legalized, and the government is trying to take it away so soon."

William Morse, a twenty-year-old Black college student from Detroit, said he's spent eight years looking for the right organization to join. He thinks he found it at the SWP convention.

Morse likes the SWP, he said, because it is "responsive to the needs of oppressed nationalities—it's a viable organization that responds to the needs of the people."

Morse had worked with the Black Panther Party, but hadn't been recently politically active until he ran into a chapter of the Student Coalition Against Racism at Wayne County Community College. Through his work in SCAR he met some members who also belonged to the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. They invited Morse to the convention.

His major concern is the high unemployment levels among Black youth—and he thinks the SWP and YSA are the organizations that can fight against it.

"That's where my heart is," he said.

Many people at the convention used earphones to hear the simultaneous translations of the sessions into Spanish and French. Most of those using the translations were international guests, but several were SWP members.

George Fernández, for example, is a telephone salesperson going to college part-time in Miami. He came to the United States from Cuba in 1965.

Weren't most of the people who came to this country from Cuba after the revolution there anticommunist? we asked him. No, he explained, that impression is given because the counterrevolutionary Cubans in Miami are so vocal. "They can be so vocal because of the special status they receive as 'political exiles.'" Unfortu-

Why not you?

You've been reading about some of the people who are joining the SWP. If you like the ideas you find in the *Militant* you should think about joining too. Contact the SWP branch nearest you, listed on page 27. Or mail this coupon to: **SWP National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.**

I want to join the SWP.
 Please send me more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip Code _____

Joining the Socialist Workers Party

Of the 1,685 people attending the Socialist Workers Party convention in August, more than 250 people were new to the socialist movement and attending their first SWP convention.

Some had joined recently. Others were interested guests. Almost eighty people decided to join the SWP at the convention.

The 'Militant' spoke to some of these new members. The following interviews are by Diane Wang and Arnold Weissberg.



Militant/Lou Howort

nately, he added, political exiles from Chile or Haiti don't receive such special favors from the U.S. government.

Many Cubans in the United States are like him, Fernández explained. The U.S. economic blockade of Cuba caused severe hardships on the island. Not being very political at the time, he compared those hardships with the affluence the United States promised and went to New York to join his friends who had moved there.

Once in the United States, however, "I quickly became disillusioned with the system that exists here," he said. The lack of job security or health benefits, discrimination against Spanish-speaking workers, high rents—all these "changed my political ideology when I came to America."

Fernández found out about the SWP when the party began a branch in Miami and soon decided to work with the SWP. "I think that under socialism people can achieve their rights," he explained, "like full employment, job security, cheap housing, free health care, and free education, which we cannot get in the so-called free enterprise system."

Vince Pérez comes from Chicano and Italian parentage. He grew up in Cleveland and never experienced any discrimination against Chicanos there.

But when he moved to California after high school, he said, he was "bewildered" by his first experiences with it. He learned about racism, which "opened my mind to socialism."

Pérez decided he wanted to join a socialist group and fight back. He

tations of Mexican workers without visas—"illegal aliens" as the government calls them—is very important.

Janis Ball became a full member of the SWP only two weeks before the convention. Before she joined, she explained, she had never been involved in any political activity.

A course at California State University at Northridge, (Los Angeles), led to reading about socialism. She decided that capitalism had to be replaced. She got out the phone book, looked up "socialist," and found the SWP.

Someone on the other end of the phone told her about a forum that Friday night. (SWP branches all have weekly forums on current political topics.) Ball decided to go.

"I was impressed because everyone was so rational, humane, and intelligent," she said. Soon she went to a meeting of the San Fernando Valley branch of the SWP. Then she joined as a provisional member.

Now Ball is active in the branch, selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language Trotskyist magazine. She also works on winning new members to the SWP.

Ball said that the convention "brought the SWP's ideas to life. I'm proud of what I do and proud of the party!"

Brenda Talley graduated from Decatur High School in Atlanta this spring. While doing a report for school about South Africa someone gave her an article from the *Militant*. She got hold of a copy of the paper soon after that.

"It related to the people," she said. "It told what the U.S. was really doing in South Africa. And it talked about women's rights and Chicano rights—things *Time* and *Newsweek* never did."

Talley began passing around her copy of the paper and discussing it in class. One of her teachers warned her that she was too young to get involved. But the *Militant* convinced her "to take an active part in the movement" and to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Talley began selling about eight copies of the *Militant* at her high school, convinced four other students to join the YSA, and campaigned for Vince Eagan, SWP mayoral candidate in Atlanta.

Recently Talley decided to join the SWP. "The SWP is the only party that believes what I do: that human needs should come before profit. It's the only party and has the only candidates that are doing something against the death penalty or to defend Black students and gay rights and women."

Talley is going to college outside Atlanta this fall. Her plans? "I hope to start a YSA chapter there."

Human rights benefit

During the week-long Socialist Workers Party convention time was set aside so that participants could attend an "Evening in Solidarity with Political Prisoners." The benefit was sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), and the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

As Michael Kelly of USLA explained, introducing the program, the evening was "to salute the courage of the true fighters for human rights—not the Carters of the world who use the rhetoric of human rights to cover their own crimes, but the thousands of political activists who, because they champion human rights, are victims of repression and torture."

Reza Baraheni, the Iranian poet and former political prisoner who is now honorary chairperson of CAIFI, read his poetry. Gaudencio Thiago de Mello, the Brazilian composer and guitarist, performed.

After the benefit and during the SWP convention, 222 copies of Baraheni's new book, *The Crowned Cannibals: Writings on Repression in Iran*, were sold. The USLA sold 100 albums of "Music of Thiago" and 100 cassettes of a previous benefit Thiago had done on behalf of political prisoners.

World Outlook



Somali rebels gain in Ethiopia

Somali regiment of women

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Since mid-July, the Ethiopian military junta, known as the Dergue, has been confronted with a massive upsurge of the Somali people living in the Ogaden desert region of southeastern Ethiopia. Within a few weeks, the Dergue lost control of most of this vast area, except for a few large towns, to the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), which is fighting for the separation of the Somali-inhabited territories from Ethiopia and their incorporation into the neighboring country of Somalia.

Already faced with a rapidly advancing independence struggle in Eritrea, the Dergue has been plunged into its gravest crisis since it seized power from Emperor Haile Selassie three years ago. Like Selassie, the junta has denied the Somalis and other oppressed nationalities their right to self-determination.

The Dergue, the WSLF, and the Somalian regime have made numerous claims and counterclaims, many of them exaggerated, on the course of the fighting at Diredawa, Ethiopia's third largest city, and other parts of the Somali region.

Nevertheless, there were signs that the fighting was heavy. In a departure from its earlier playing down of Ethiopian losses, the Dergue admitted August 21 that 150 Ethiopian soldiers had been killed and five planes destroyed during a second battle at Diredawa.

Somali gains

The Ethiopian junta has also acknowledged important Somali gains. According to an August 14 dispatch from Diredawa by *Washington Post* correspondent Roger Mann, the Ethiopian army's ground commander in the region said that "the Somalis are everywhere" in the Ogaden, except for the garrison towns of Diredawa, Jijiga, and Harar.

The Dergue has denied that the Somali military gains have been won by Somali nationalists from the Ogaden. It charges that the area has been "invaded" by the regular Somalian army and air force and that the WSLF is little more than an extension of the Somalian armed forces.

The Somalian regime in Mogadishu insists that it is not directly involved in the fighting and that the WSLF is acting on its own. But it is highly unlikely that a guerrilla group that could mount only limited actions a few months ago could have scored such significant gains in such a short period without outside assistance.

Mogadishu openly backs the WSLF's aims, has given it military and financial aid, and even admits that regular Somalian troops have been given "leave" to fight with it.

Wide support

Whatever the extent of the Somalian regime's direct involvement, however, the Somali military actions appear to have the support of most Somalis in the Ogaden.

Following a 470-mile tour of the areas controlled by the WSLF, several foreign journalists described the mood among the Somalis. Reporting in the

September 5 issue of *Newsweek*, correspondent Elizabeth Peer quoted a shopkeeper in the town of Wardere. "The last month has been happier than my entire 65 years under the Ethiopians," he told her.

Peer reported, "The sentiment was clearly universal. As journalists were allowed for the first time to visit what is either liberated western Somalia or occupied Ethiopia—depending on one's perspective—thousands of nomads cheered their 'liberation.'"

Another journalist reported in an August 24 Agence France-Presse dispatch:

The red and green banner of the Somali guerrillas flies over the towns of Ethiopia's southern Ogaden region these days, and charred buildings and wrecked equipment at military bases attest the heavy fighting that ended there last month.

. . . nowhere along the bumpy, dusty roads linking four of the area's main settlements—Mustahil, Kelafo, Gode and Wardere—did the visitors spot an Ethiopian flag or any other sign of an Ethiopian presence. . . .

The visitors were often greeted by noisy but disciplined crowds shouting hatred for the Ethiopian Government and its leader, Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Roots of struggle

The Somali upsurge against the central regime in Addis Ababa is but the most recent expression of a long struggle by the Somalis in the Ogaden against the domination of the Amharas, Ethiopia's oppressor nationality. The strong sentiment for pan-Somali unity is likewise rooted in the history and development of the Somali people and the efforts of the Ethiopians and the imperialist powers to divide and weaken them.

Well before the Amharic conquests and the European colonization in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Somalis, who were organized into a number of clans, began to develop a sense of ethnic unity based on their common language and the influence of Islam. But before this process was completed and the Somalis could establish their own nation state, they fell under foreign domination.

The downfall of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and the steady disintegration of his empire since then has given the Somalis a favorable opportunity to press forward with their struggle. The advancing fight for independence in Eritrea has undoubtedly been an inspiration to them.

The Somalian military junta led by Gen. Siad Barre, which seized power in 1969, has pledged to continue its support for the efforts to unify the Somali people. In fact, it has little choice. General Siad pointed out in an interview in the June 13 issue of the Paris fortnightly *Afrique-Asie* that "no government, no regime, no Somalian leader could survive in this country if he moved to abandon the policy of recovering the territories that are still colonized by foreign occupiers."

Although the junta's policy is a reflection of the Somali aspirations for unity, its own interests are also at stake. Somalia is an impoverished country,

with few resources. The Ogaden, however, is thought to contain deposits of oil and gas.

Moreover, General Siad may be using the campaign to regain the Ogaden, at least partially, to divert popular grievances away from his own regime, which is repressive. The junta has established a powerful and extensive secret police apparatus. Like its counterpart in Ethiopia, the Somalian regime tries to cover its procapitalist policies with a "socialist" mask.

While aiding the WSLF and the efforts toward Somali unity, the junta at the same time fears the potential power of the Somali struggle and has carefully sought to keep it under control.

An international flashpoint

The outcome of the conflict in the Ogaden—as well as the struggles in Eritrea and in other parts of Ethiopia—can have important repercussions, not only in the Horn of Africa, but throughout the continent and internationally.

If the Eritreans gain independence or the Somalis are successful in throwing off Ethiopian domination, oppressed peoples in other African countries will be inspired to press forward with their own struggles. The Black neocolonial regimes throughout the continent fear such a development, and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) is officially opposed to any change in the present borders that were artificially drawn up by the colonialists.

Since the Horn of Africa borders on the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, developments there can also affect the situation in the Middle East. To pressure the pro-Israeli Ethiopian regime, various Arab states have for years aided the Eritrean independence forces. Some, such as Syria, Iraq, Egypt, the Sudan, and Saudi Arabia, have expressed support for the WSLF and the Somalian regime.

The Israeli regime has long had ties with Addis Ababa, both under Selassie and the present "socialist" military junta. The Israelis fear that an independent Eritrea could threaten their access to the Red Sea. In a dispatch from Addis Ababa in the August 12 *Washington Post*, correspondent Roger Mann reported, "According to numerous sources, including Ethiopian air force personnel, Israel is regularly flying in spares and ammunition for Ethiopia's U.S. equipment. Israeli ammunition for U.S. Phantom jets was specifically mentioned." Israeli advisers are also reported to have helped train the Dergue's new People's Militia.

Further complicating the international lineup of forces has been Moscow's aid to both the Ethiopian and Somalian regimes. With the aim of advancing its own narrow diplomatic interests, the Kremlin calls both military juntas "progressive."

As the old Ethiopian empire continues to fragment, American imperialism has stepped up its efforts to strengthen its position in the region as a whole, so as to be better able to influence and ultimately derail the various struggles going on.

Since a number of the pro-American Arab regimes provide aid to either the Eritrean or Somalian struggles, Washington's recent maneuvers appear aimed at indirectly influencing the direction of those struggles. The Carter administration may also be preparing a base for military intervention—either directly or through its client states—should the conflicts now rocking the Horn of Africa escape control.



Christian Science Monitor

Interview with attorney Lea Tsemel

Defending Israel's Palestinian prisoners

From Intercontinental Press

[The following interview with Lea Tsemel, a lawyer and member of the Union of Democratic Lawyers in Israel and the Israel League for Human Rights, appeared in the June 13 issue of *Afrique-Asie*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Last February 4, Chaim Levy, the Israeli general director of prisons, made some shocking admissions regarding overcrowding in Israeli prisons. He admitted that it had reached "intolerable levels." What did you think these statements meant, and what effect did they have on the situation facing the prisoners?

Answer. Chaim Levy was not suddenly overcome by charitable impulses toward the Palestinian prisoners. These statements were made at a meeting of prison administrators attended by the minister of police, Shlomo Hillel, and they had a dual aim. The first objective was to lobby for more funds for prison facilities. The second and most important was to try to undercut the movement that had been launched on December 11, 1976, by the strike of inmates at the Ashkelon prison. This strike was gaining more and more public support both inside and outside the country.

This doesn't mean, of course, that the prisoners' demands are limited simply to the issue raised by Chaim Levy of the incredibly small amount of space normally allotted to each prisoner in Israeli jails.

The prisoners have raised demands for humane treatment, including better sanitary conditions and an end to torture, as well as for intellectual and political rights, such as access to newspapers and the right to read. They have also demanded to be treated as prisoners of war under the Geneva accords. As you can see, these demands go beyond the problem of living space and lack of privacy, although this is certainly important.

Q. So Chaim Levy's statements were



Palestinian prisoners under guard in Israeli prison

just a flash in the pan.

A. Yes. In my second report on the Ashkelon hunger strike, I indicated that most of the prisoners had been on strike for thirty-five days, but that a group of fifty-six prisoners who were transferred on the thirty-second day to the Kfar Yona prison had continued the strike up to forty-five days. In the report I explained the circumstances under which this very grueling hunger strike was concluded.

However, contact with a delegation of prison administrators was not made until two weeks later. At that time Chaim Levy promised the following improvements: (1) Each prisoner would be allowed to brush his hair; (2) Each prisoner would be allowed to buy himself some candy in the prison canteen with the monthly allowance of thirty Israeli pounds (US\$3) that he was entitled to receive from his family (Jewish prisoners can receive up to seventy pounds a month); (3) A new wing would be added on to the Ashkelon prison.

The prisoners took these ridiculous promises as an insult, and rightly so. It was under these circumstances that 245 of them went back on strike at Ashkelon on February 24. The struggle lasted until mid-March, and was

backed up by a similar movement at Ramallah prison on the West Bank. All we can say at this point is that the only substantial gain the prisoners have won has to do with their daily bread ration.

As you can see, we still have a long way to go to win the prisoners' main demand. There are now 5,852 of them, of whom 3,227 have been charged with endangering state security.

Q. On this point, there seems to be some hesitation, insofar as the prisoners had demanded application of the Geneva accords and then seemed to retreat somewhat on this issue.

A. All the prisoners have demanded and are still demanding the status of prisoners of war under the Geneva convention. Incidentally, the Human Rights Commission, at its thirty-third session which met in Geneva on February 15, endorsed this demand as legitimate. During the Ashkelon strike, the prisoners demanded, as a minimum, that they be held under the same prison conditions as the Jewish common prisoners. They raised this demand to better illustrate how intolerable their present status is. This does not mean that they are retreating—just the opposite.

Q. Is there a chance that the movement in the prisons will get under way again soon?

A. I think so. In the first place, because despite the brutal treatment, the tortures, and the physical ordeal of the hunger strikes, the prisoners' determination to struggle has never wavered. Secondly, because the prisoners' struggle is having an enormous impact on public opinion in Israel, including among the Palestinian Arab population living within the old boundaries; as well as in the territories occupied since 1967.

For example, we have gathered more than 10,000 signatures on this subject in Israel, and the movement has had a very great impact in Galilee and Jerusalem (at the Hebrew University). You know, of course, what the effects were on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. It was impressive. The clashes with the police were often extremely violent. The turnout by families and by mayors and patriotic associations gave the prisoners' struggle a broad scope.

Organizations like the Red Cross and Amnesty International did not, of course, ignore this upsurge, which helped break down the wall of silence around a situation that we, for our part, have been condemning for years. Nowadays no one can deny the cases of torture, brutality, and harassment, and the fact that the Palestinian patriots are being held under conditions that are even worse than those of any common criminal who happens to be an Israeli Jew.

Q. It's easy to see why the authorities are out to get you.

A. We are waging a hard fight, in which we do not dare make any mistakes. We stick strictly to the law, to avoid setting ourselves up for provocations. But this does not prevent us from coming under threats of reprisals and a certain amount of harassment.

Q. Felicia Langer was recently subjected to discrimination.

A. Felicia has appealed the decision in her case to the Supreme Court. The ad hoc commission, made up of five persons including the government attorney, Ahoran Barak, claimed that Counselor Langer was sympathetic to the PLO and that this was grounds for denying her knowledge of some military secrets mentioned during cases tried before military courts. No one should be taken in by this smoke-screen. This is one of the innumerable methods used to bar from defending Palestinians lawyers committed to the ideals of freedom and justice for all.

Q. You're referring, in particular, to the members of the Union of Democratic Lawyers.

A. Certainly, but within that organization, there are unfortunately only a dozen of us Jewish lawyers, alongside our Arab colleagues and friends from Galilee, Haifa, and so on. Despite the obstacles, the union has helped significantly to focus public attention on the prisoner problem. They published a statement, "Save the lives of the hunger strikers in the prisons," which was widely publicized; and a rally attended by members of the union was held March 13 outside the Ashkelon prison.

Tsemel to tour United States

By Anne Teesdale

"At times with seriousness and anxiety, at times with humor," observed an *Afrique-Asie* interview, Lea Tsemel showed "how difficult it is to face the harassment and pressures of the Establishment of the Zionist state and of Zionist public opinion. At no time, however, did she lose her determined and willful tone, whose warmth is peculiar to the militants who refuse, no matter what the cost, to knuckle under." (See interview above.)

Audiences in the United States will soon have a chance to hear Tsemel for themselves. The thirty-two-year-old attorney will come here from Jerusalem in October for a one-month speaking tour.

Tsemel's talk is titled, "Political Repression in Israel; an Israeli Jew Speaks Out for Palestinian Human Rights."

Tsemel's recent activities make her well-qualified to speak on this subject:

- She helped defend Palestinians

in Ashkelon Prison when their hunger strike brought world attention to the intolerable treatment of political prisoners in Israel.

- Several of her clients were the focus of an investigative report in the prestigious London *Sunday Times*, which charged Israel with torturing Palestinian prisoners. This report sparked worldwide condemnation of Israeli torture, including editorials in the *Boston Globe*, the *Detroit Free Press*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

- Shortly after publication of this report, the Supreme Court of Jerusalem accused Tsemel of "identifying herself with the enemies of Israel, her presence at a military trial consequently being the cause of serious harm to the security of the state."

Tsemel is scheduled to speak in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Seattle, San Francisco, and Los Angeles.

For more information or to arrange possible engagements, con-

tact: Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or call (212) 741-0690.



LEA TSEMEL
Militant/David Frankel

Q. In addition, of course, there is the work carried out by the Israel League for Human Rights.

A. The league represents mainly the tenacity, perseverance, and courage of one man—Israel Shahak—but it is also maintained by the determination of some committed activists.

Q. From the left and far-left organizations?

A. In the league, side by side with radical anti-Zionists, are members of Rakah [the Israeli CP—IP], as well as independent progressives. What binds us together, above and beyond our disagreements, is our determination to fight for the human rights of all—and not just Jews—who live in Israel or are under the jurisdiction of the Israeli government as a result of a military takeover, which we vigorously protest.

Q. There is also, by the way, a league that is—shall we say—more orthodox.

A. We strongly deplore the decision taken by the International Federation for Human Rights with regard to our organization. The discriminatory action toward the league chaired by Professor Israel Shahak was instigated by pressure groups with ties to the Israeli government. This action, of course, benefited the other Israeli league, the more orthodox one, as you said.

This organization, which has campaigned around the fate of Syrian Jews, continues to wage various campaigns on behalf of Jews in the Soviet Union. But as far as non-Jews in Israel are concerned, it seems unfortunately to have nothing to say!

Q. Not even about anti-Zionist Jews? I'm talking about those convicted in the January 1973 trial.

A. Of course. Only three of them are still in prison. Udi Adiv and Yaheskul Cohen, sentenced to seventeen years and eight years, respectively, continue to adhere faithfully to their ideals, under very difficult circumstances.

Q. One last word about the overall political situation in the country in the aftermath of the elections. We had decided not to discuss it, but I don't see how we can ignore it.

A. In terms of the fundamental political and strategic questions, the change is more of a shift in emphasis. If you look at the basic issues, the Maarakha, which held power previously, included a number of aggressive "hawks" who make the Likud "hawks" seem tame by comparison.

On the other hand, one thing we can count on is that for us and for Israeli Jewish revolutionists, the screws are going to be tightened still more. It's going to be very hard to work, struggle, and live. But we think that this is the price of peace—real peace, peace with justice and brotherhood.



Ashkelon prison

Militant/David Frankel

Israeli police harass anti-Zionist activists

By Peter Seidman

Israeli authorities escalated their threats against the political rights of anti-Zionist activists in early July.

Police summoned editors of two Israeli Trotskyist newspapers, *Avant-garde* and *Spark*, to cop stations in Tel Aviv and Haifa.

It has not been unusual for Israeli cops to harass political activists this way by warning them of possible charges against them. What is new is the severity of the threats made against Yigal Schwartz, the editor of *Spark*.

Schwartz was warned by Tel Aviv police that if he continued his political activities he might be charged with "sedition against the security of the Israeli state."

Under this vague formula, individuals in Israel can be prosecuted for a variety of serious crimes, including treason.

The police did not accuse Schwartz of carrying out any specific illegal act.

They did, however, detail a number of his completely legal political activities as a basis for their threats.

These included holding discussions with Arab students and distributing leaflets on two separate occasions, once during the Land Day demonstrations last March.

Under Israeli law it is legal to distribute leaflets and to speak with any other citizen of Israel.

Clearly, therefore, the police threats against Schwartz and other Israeli Trotskyists are an outright attempt to harass them because of their ideas and intimidate them with admitted surveillance of legal activities.

This harassment and surveillance is further proof that the Israeli garrison state cannot tolerate the full exercise of the democratic right to free speech by its anti-Zionist critics on the left. All defenders of this right should be prepared to protest if the Zionist cops decide to follow through on their threatening words with repressive deeds.

World news notes

Imprisoned South African Black leader killed

Steven Biko, prominent leader of South Africa's Black consciousness movement, died September 12 while being held prisoner by the apartheid regime. Biko had been arrested August 18 for suspicion of promoting unrest under a law that makes indefinite imprisonments without trial legal.

Biko's family and other Black spokespeople expressed disbelief at the official explanation of the death. The government claims that Biko, thirty years old, suddenly died after a one-week hunger strike. He died only twenty-four hours after being moved from a prison hospital in Port Elizabeth to a hospital in Pretoria.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of South Africa's 6 million Zulus and in the past a political opponent of Biko, charged that Biko had joined "the long list of those who have died for a just cause in South Africa. I will not be able to curb my people, and, indeed, I soon may not want to curb my people," he warned.

Leaders in areas such as Soweto, the Black township outside Johannesburg, have been warning that any government provocation could spark a rebellion. In recent weeks the government has closed down all high schools and fired on Blacks demonstrating in support of a student boycott of the apartheid school system.

Even the U.S. State Department, an ally of the apartheid regime, issued a statement expressing shock at Biko's death and calling for an investigation.

Reports on world capitalist economy are gloomy

The International Monetary Fund's yearly report declares that the state of the world economy is "unsatisfactory," plagued with rising unemployment, widespread inflation, "subnormal growth," and "little room for maneuver." Says the IMF: "In the short run, the scope for improvement in this situation is limited."

And, according to the International Labor Organization, Africa is hit the hardest. The ILO reports that eighteen of the world's twenty-nine poorest countries are in Africa. Some 60 million African workers are jobless, with 39 percent of the population destitute.

Park made good investment

On September 8 the U.S. House of Representatives voted 205 to 181 against cutting off \$110 million in economic aid to South Korea. The House also voted, 268 to 120, against cutting military aid to the puppet regime.

The vote came only a few hours after the South Korean government announced it would not return Tongsun Park to the United States. Park, a rice dealer, is under indictment here for trying to bribe Congress members.

Argentine military admits arrest of Jewish family

Alejandro Deutsch and four members of his family were kidnapped in Córdoba August 27, apparently by right-wing terrorists. But on September 7 the Argentine military regime admitted it had the Jewish family under arrest. The kidnapping is the latest incident in an upsurge of anti-Semitism and violence against the labor movement in Argentina. Hundreds of people have been murdered and 2,000 people have disappeared after having been seized by right-wing terrorists or the police.

Swiss report Israel uses torture on West Bank Arabs

The Swiss League for Human Rights accused Israel September 12 of "commonly and systematically" using torture on Arab residents of the occupied West Bank of Jordan. The league also reported that "expropriations, confiscations, and destruction" of Arab property are used by Israeli occupation forces trying to drive Arabs from the area. The league made its report after sending a team, headed by Geneva lawyer Denis Payot, to investigate West Bank conditions last June.

A million march for freedom in Catalonia

According to the Spanish national TV network, a million people marched in Barcelona September 11 to celebrate Catalan National Day. The demonstration, held in the nationally oppressed Catalan region, was the largest protest held in Spain since the death of Franco.

Washington sends 97 Haitian refugees back

In August, 101 peasants fleeing Haiti's brutal dictatorship in a sinking boat landed at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba. On September 6 the U.S. State Department announced it had decided that only 4 might be political refugees. The other 97 people were sent back to Haiti. The State Department spokesperson said the Haitian regime had assured U.S. officials there would be no reprisals against the returned refugees.

British Labour government tries to keep wage controls

Britain's Trades Union Congress voted September 7 to limit wages to only one raise each year, as requested by the government headed by Britain's Labour Party. But no one is sure the controls can be enforced. Delegates at the congress representing almost four and a half million workers voted against the proposal, and militants in several unions will resist the policy. In the past year British workers' living standards have fallen more sharply than they did during any 1930s depression year.

Kurdish exiles charge Iraq with atrocities

Representatives of Kurdish exile groups have asked the United Nations to investigate Iraqi violations against the human rights of the Kurds. The exiles charge that Kurdish villages in northern Iraq have been bulldozed and the residents tortured and executed. Thousands of Kurdish people have been deported to internment camps in southern Iraq's deserts. And on December 29 Iraqi forces murdered about thirty Kurdish civilians in Sharestan for "collusion with rebels."

Carter & Pinochet agree on human rights

By Peter Seidman

Marking the fourth anniversary of the U.S.-sponsored coup that brought him to power, Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet announced that he would not permit elections for at least eight years.

Even that may be too soon, he told a September 11 rally in Santiago, the Chilean capital. Conditions would be ripe for elections, he explained, "only when the profound causes that required the armed intervention have been overcome."

Pinochet had just returned from a Washington visit with President Carter. "Mr. Human Rights" had signaled his approval of the dictator's recent policies by naming a U.S. ambassador to Chile.

The "armed intervention" Pinochet referred to in his September 11 speech was a revolt by the Chilean army in the service of that country's wealthy exploiters. This minority feared the growing mobilizations of the mass workers and peasants movements that threatened to go beyond the limits

proscribed by Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government.

By counseling reliance on the capitalist Popular Unity government—in which they participated—Chile's Communist and Socialist parties left the masses unprepared to defend themselves against the reactionary coup.

Since the coup, the Chilean military regime has arrested some 100,000 people. It has forced tens of thousands into exile and has murdered and tortured thousands more.

Now Carter claims he has pressured Pinochet into modifying his brutal policies.

Carter points to the dissolution August 12 of the DINA—Chile's dreaded secret police agency—responsible, according to Amnesty International, for the disappearance of close to 1,500 political prisoners since the coup.

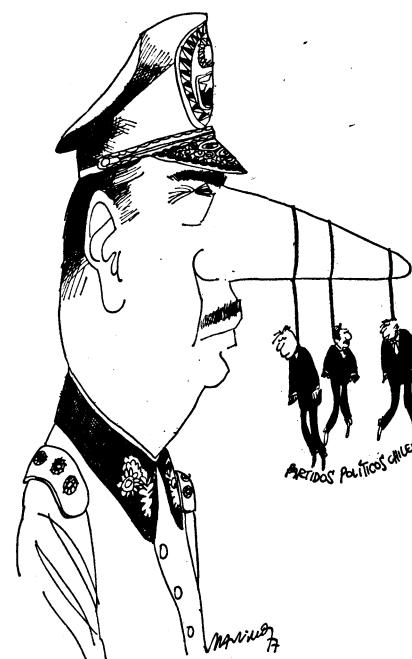
But Pinochet merely replaced DINA with a new agency, the National Information Central, whose charter is written in almost identical language to DINA's.

Carter points to stronger human rights laws recently enacted in Chile. But a May report by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights says the new laws have no "actual or practical meaning."

All opposition parties in Chile are illegal. All trade-union rights are suspended. Prior military authorization is required for "printed matter in general."

These repressive measures are used to prevent the Chilean masses from organizing to fight the harsh economic measures imposed by the government. The government has returned to the original owners almost three-quarters of the 25 million acres of land nationalized prior to the coup. Inflation was 146 percent last year. Unemployment reportedly stood at 13 percent.

Pinochet, after meeting with Carter, told reporters that he and the president had full agreement on human rights. Could there be a more damning indictment of Carter's demagogic campaign?



Marino/Excelsior

Sri Lanka: attacks spur Tamil freedom demand

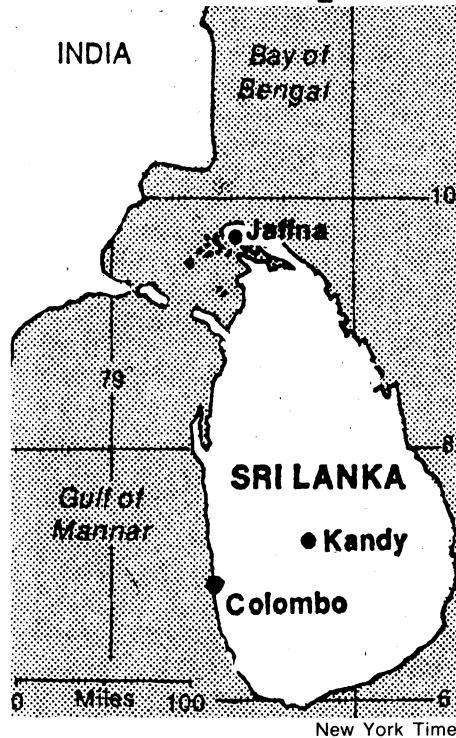
From Intercontinental Press

Since mid-August, the oppressed Tamil population of Sri Lanka has suffered vicious attacks by police and mobs of Sinhalese, who constitute the country's dominant nationality. By the end of the month, an estimated 100 persons were killed, most of them Tamils, and 10,000 or more Tamils were forced to flee their homes in fear of their lives.

The chauvinist assaults began in Jaffna, the major city in the north, where Tamils predominate. According to a report in the August 27 London *Economist*, some police tried to enter a fair without paying. When they were barred, they attacked the participants, leading to clashes between police and Tamil crowds. Four persons were killed in that incident.

In the days that followed, the attacks on Tamils spread southward, to the central highland region where hundreds of thousands of Tamils work on the tea plantations, and to Colombo, the capital and largest city in Sri Lanka. Hundreds of homes and shops were broken into, looted, and burned, and some of their Tamil owners were beaten to death. Bands of Sinhalese attacked Tamil neighborhoods, throwing stones and firebombs. In some areas, the attacks became virtual pogroms.

A Tamil in Colombo told *New York Times* correspondent William Borders, as quoted in the August 30 issue, "Since they cannot usually tell Tamils just by sight, the [Sinhalese] thugs



would stand at the front of a bus they had stopped and ask everyone to pronounce some common Sinhalese word like 'shoe' or 'flower.' We'd know the word, of course, but the accent with which we spoke it would give us away." The Tamils were then dragged off the buses and beaten.

The new regime of J.R. Jayewardene, which came to power just a few weeks earlier in the July 21 general elections, imposed a curfew throughout the island and applied unofficial cen-

sorship to the domestic and foreign press. The army was called out to aid the police forces, and military officers were placed in charge of districts affected by the unrest. About 1,500 persons were arrested. The regime evacuated some 5,000 Tamils to the northern coast and another 5,000 are estimated to have fled there on their own.

Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP) blamed opposition parties for fomenting the attacks.

The implied culprit was Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), which ruled Sri Lanka for seven years before its rout in the recent elections. Several SLFP candidates, and even former members of Bandaranaike's cabinet, have been arrested in connection with the assaults.

The UNP has also supported discrimination against Tamils, but the SLFP in particular has traditionally sought to win support from the Sinhalese peasantry by whipping up anti-Tamil sentiments. The constitution adopted in 1972 under Bandaranaike imposed Sinhalese as the sole official language.

Jayewardene has hypocritically sought to gain the support of the Tamils by claiming, "My Government is dedicated to the elimination of all forms of discrimination." He called for a conference of all major parties in Sri Lanka to discuss Tamil grievances. But the UNP's record during previous terms in office is little better than that

of the SLFP.

Jayewardene's main concern is the impact the Sinhalese attacks may have on the growing sentiment for a separate, independent Tamil state. This was reflected in his warning to the separatist Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), the main Tamil nationalist group, to "be careful of your words—such words can inflame people."

The desire for an independent state among Tamils, who make up about 20 percent of Sri Lanka's population, has been on the rise in recent years. Seeing no alleviation of the discrimination against them in terms of their language, culture, political rights, and job opportunities, more and more Tamils have come to believe that the establishment of their own state is the only way to end the centuries of national oppression by the dominant Sinhalese.

This sentiment was marked in the July elections, when candidates of the TULF won seventeen of the twenty-four seats that they contested. The allied Ceylon Workers Congress, which is based on the Tamil plantation workers, won an additional seat. Because of the SLFP's near-total rout, the TULF is now the largest opposition party in Parliament, and its general secretary, A. Amirthalingam, has become the official leader of the parliamentary opposition.

Since the elections, the TULF has continued to call for the establishment of an "independent, secular, socialist state of Thamil Eelam."

Party have joined the United States in boycotting the hearings.

For decades, statehood and commonwealth forces have administered the colony on behalf of the U.S. rulers. Now, in order to gain credibility among the Puerto Rican masses, both are using anticolonialist rhetoric to pressure Washington for adjustments in the colonial relationship.

Under the present setup, Puerto Ricans elect their own local administration and a nonvoting delegate to the U.S. Congress. Under U.S. laws, Washington retains all important governmental powers.

UN shelves Puerto Rican independence resolution

By José G. Pérez

The United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization has once again shelved a resolution recognizing "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence."

On September 2, the committee voted eleven to seven, with six abstaining or absent, to adjourn. This postponed for a year any action on the motion introduced by Cuban Ambassador Ricardo Alarcón.

Citing diplomatic sources, the September 3 *Washington Post* reported that the motion "probably would have

passed if it had been allowed to come to a vote."

The United States—which isn't a member of the committee and doesn't recognize its authority—"has been quietly lobbying for adjournment," the *Post* said.

The vote came two weeks after hearings that brought several surprises. According to the *New York Times*, "representatives of nearly every organized political force in Puerto Rico criticized the island's present commonwealth status as 'colonial.'"

In the past, both the procommonwealth Popular Democratic Party and the pro-statehood New Progressive

Socialists reply to smear job

'Red-baiting weakens antinuclear struggle'

By Arnold Weissberg

The anti-nuclear power movement is the latest victim of an old government dirty trick—the game of divide and conquer.

The August 20 issue of the *Real Paper*, a Boston alternative weekly, was the vehicle for this assault on the Clamshell Alliance, a leading East Coast antinuclear group.

An article headlined "SWP Goes Clamming," by Joe Conason, suggested that participation by socialists in the anti-nuclear power movement has some ulterior motive. He quoted an unnamed Clamshell member: "We want to know just what their intentions in Clamshell are."

This challenge to the right of socialists to join the antinuclear movement has been answered in a letter from Hattie McCutcheon, SWP candidate for Boston School Committee, and Gary Cohen, an SWP member who is also a member of the Clamshell. Their reply was printed in the August 27 *Real Paper*.

Conason echoed the charges of U.S. Rep. Larry McDonald, a Georgia Democrat and a national board member of the John Birch Society.

McDonald has built a reputation for



HATTIE McCUTCHEON
Militant/Lou Howort

zealous defense of illegal FBI spying and harassment. He regularly used the *Congressional Record* to attack anyone trying to make life a little fairer.

He is a bitter opponent of the antinuclear movement, calling its supporters "modern Luddites . . . who advocate stopping progress by smashing machines."

McDonald launched a vicious red-baiting tirade against the antinuclear movement in the August 3 *Congressional Record*, attacking SWP participation in the movement. His "proof" of the SWP's attempt to "exploit" the antinuclear movement consisted of two articles from a discussion bulletin circulated to all SWP members prior to the party's August 1977 convention. These articles urged SWP members to get involved in the fight against construction of nuclear power plants.

Conason, obviously aware of McDonald's unsavory connections, notes that "even though the charges come from McDonald, the local Clamshell is taking them seriously . . ." For his part, Conason is content to uncritically repeat them.

McCutcheon and Cohen point out in their reply that "by adopting McDonald's practices and avoiding the political issues, the real issue, the pros and cons in the nuclear power debate, Conason does a disservice to the Clamshell Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party and *Real Paper* readers."

Conason also makes the incredible charge that since the FBI "is known to have long since infiltrated the SWP . . . a large portion of its party officials are agents."

This charge, utterly without foundation and entirely false, is based on evidence gathered by the SWP in the course of its groundbreaking lawsuit against FBI harassment. In the course of that suit, the SWP has forced the FBI to admit that as of 1976 the bureau had sixty-six informers in the party.

It is well known—although seeming-



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

'People before profits' was a popular slogan during demonstration last spring against Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power plant.

ly not by Conason—that every movement for social change is targeted for infiltration by the government. The Clamshell Alliance itself was a victim of such a political spy operation in the days leading up to the April 30 sit-in at the construction site of a new nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire.

Before the sit-in, McDonald, the New Hampshire state government, ultra-rightist newspaper publisher William Loeb, and the right-wing "U.S. Labor Party" cooperated in spying on the Clamshell. They tried to picture Clamshell members as "secret terrorists."

This crude hatchet job was designed to justify a police attack on the action. Fortunately, the sit-in was so widely publicized—and the Clamshell's non-violence was so well known—that the right-wingers were unable to put their plan into action.

McDonald is clearly no friend of the antinuclear movement. His only motive in attacking the SWP's role in the fight against nuclear power is to "disrupt, discredit and destroy the movement," Cohen and McCutcheon write in their reply to Conason.

McDonald's goal, they say, is to get Clamshell members to fight each other instead of joining forces against their common enemy—the giant utilities, energy monopolies, and government agencies that want to force an extremely hazardous power source down the throats of the American people.

Whatever Conason's intentions, he helps McDonald's wrecking operation.

Conason, borrowing from McDonald, accuses Cohen and the SWP of trying to "redefine" the Clamshell "to fit SWP orthodoxy."

McCutcheon and Cohen deny this
Continued on page 26

51% back gay teachers

Calif. poll shows potential to halt antigay drive

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—A majority of Californians are opposed to legislation that would bar homosexuals from teaching in the public schools.

This finding by the California Poll assumes special significance in light of the present move to put a proposition on the state ballot to bar homosexuals from school positions.

John Briggs, a right-wing state senator, has already taken the formal preliminary steps required to place an initiative, or referendum, on the ballot. If the wording of the initiative meets state requirements his supporters will begin seeking the 312,000 signatures needed to put it on the June 1978 primary ballot.

The California Poll questioned more than 1,000 people across the state regarding their attitude toward gay rights. The California Poll is regarded as the most reliable survey agency in the state.

Queried on the idea of barring gays from teaching, 51 percent of those polled said they would not favor such a proposition. There were 42 percent in favor, 6 percent undecided, and 1 percent with no opinion.

Asked if they would approve a law forbidding discrimination against gays in other areas of employment, 52 percent across the state said yes, with a high of 61 percent in the San Fran-

cisco area.

Mervin Field, director of the poll, indicated dismay that a large minority does not fully support elementary rights for gays.

Yet, taken in context, the results of the poll are extremely encouraging. It is doubtful that a decade ago there would have been a majority for gay rights.

The results strongly indicate that if the Briggs antigay initiative does make it on the ballot, there are good prospects for defeating it.

The 51 percent majority in the poll is slim. But that margin could be increased if an effective educational campaign was launched to explain that the real issue is human rights, countering the reactionary myths of the bigots.

But prior to the Miami referendum last June on a previously enacted gay rights ordinance, polls showed that a majority favored the ordinance.

Yet the right-wing forces led by Anita Bryant won at the polls.

In good measure, that defeat for gay rights was the result of a failure of leadership in the gay community.

What was urgently needed in Miami was a broad, active, and visible campaign in support of gay rights.

Rallies, demonstrations, teach-ins, and massive literature distributions could have involved significant numbers of people, won many unde-

cided votes, and increased the turnout of gay rights supporters.

Instead, pro-Democratic Party leaders in the gay movement followed a strategy of limited action, a media campaign, and, most of all, reliance on the support of liberal politicians.

It wasn't enough.

In the communities where there was significant gay rights sentiment, the voter turnout was small. In the pro-Bryant precincts it was big. The right wing won the day.

It could prove very costly if a similar approach is taken in California in relation to the Briggs referendum.

In proclaiming his right-wing drive, Briggs declared that gay rights is not a Miami issue or a California issue. It is, he stated, a national issue.

That's probably one of the few truthful things he's said.

Some would dismiss Briggs as a small-time politician who hopes to parlay this issue into the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

That may be.

But he makes his move in the context of a national drive by powerful political forces to roll back gay rights, along with the hard-won gains of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and others. Left unchecked, his drive can gain momentum.

But if gay rights supporters bear down from the outset, Briggs and the

forces he represents can be isolated and defeated.

Victory for gay rights was not precluded in Miami. And the political situation is a lot better in California than it is in Dade County, Florida.

One need only consider the gay rights demonstrations this past June 26—a massive outpouring of 200,000 in San Francisco, 20,000 in Los Angeles, and more protests elsewhere in the state.

Effectively organized, that's a force with the potential to deliver a solid defeat to the right-wingers.

But to do it means mobilizing the gay community and its supporters. It means going to women, Blacks, Chicanos, organized labor, and convincing them that their rights are at stake as well.

Given a sufficiently well-publicized campaign from the outset, it is not out of the question that the Briggs forces might not even be able to get the signatures necessary to win a ballot place for their proposition.

And even if it did make the ballot there would already be sufficient momentum against the proposition to assure there would be a massive "no" vote.

The California Poll shows that the bigots can be defeated.

But it won't be done with an ostrich policy.

Trumped-up rape convictions

The Hill brothers: victims of racist justice

By Susan Vass

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Nightmares come in many forms in this racist society: your neighbor's child eats lead-based paint chips; your cousin tells of a friend whose infant son was bitten by rats during his afternoon nap; a woman from Mississippi is sterilized without her knowledge or consent.

It isn't that you are glad these perfectly avoidable tragedies happen to someone else—it's just that you're relieved they didn't happen to you.

But for the Gary Tylers, the Joanne Littles, the Ben Chavises, the nightmare becomes not a second-hand horror story but a sudden personal reality.

And so it was for the Hill family of St. Paul in the spring and summer of 1975.

Within a few months the Hills went from a family described in a local newspaper as "tight-knit, close, stable" to a family stripped first of one, then two of its sons. Today Lynnard and Stanley Hill are behind bars, each serving twenty years for rape—a crime neither of them committed.

Lynnard Hill was charged with raping a seventeen-year-old white woman in February 1975. He was twenty-one at the time.

During the trial the woman said she was walking on a major street bordering St. Paul's Black community when a tall Black man forced her into his car at gunpoint, took her to a nearby parking lot, and raped her.

She had been at a male friend's apartment and was on her way to visit two women friends who were walking from the other direction to meet her. The friends said a Black man stopped his car and offered them a ride, which they refused.

Hill, a professional musician, maintained that he had spent the evening

listening to records and was asleep at the time of the alleged assault. At the request of the defense, a polygraph expert gave Hill a lie-detector test. The test showed Hill was telling the truth.

But polygraph tests are not considered legal evidence in Minnesota, and the all-white jury that sat in judgment of Hill ignored other evidence. For example, the woman described the clothes of her assailant in great detail. Hill owns no such clothes. The woman said the rapist wore a gold ring in a pierced ear. Hill doesn't have a pierced ear, nor has he ever been seen wearing an earring. The woman was also found to have gonorrhea after the attack. Hill has never had nor been treated for the disease.

The state based most of its case on two pieces of "evidence": first, the woman's description of the assailant's car, which originally did not match that of Hill's; second, identification by the woman and her two friends of Hill in a police lineup.

By the time of the trial, however, the woman's description of the car had become clearer. Defense attorneys found that police had let her and her two friends view Hill's car at least twice.

The identification from the lineup was equally suspicious. The closest any of the three came to identifying Hill was to say he was similar in appearance to the assailant.

But Hill was the only one of nine men in the lineup whose photograph was among those shown the three. He was also the only in the lineup who came close to fitting the assailant's description.

But the most bizarre aspect of the case was yet to come. After the trial the woman who had accused Hill con-



STANLEY HILL

fessed to friends that she was not all sure Hill was her assailant. Her friends convinced her to talk to Hill's attorney.

In a statement, recorded by a court stenographer and notarized, she said, "I have more feelings to say that he wasn't than to say he was." She also stated that she wasn't certain about her assailant's car, but that the police had told her to stick with her story.

At a post-trial hearing, however, under cross-examination by the prosecutor, she changed her story once again.

Even though she still stated she was unsure who raped her, the judge refused to overturn the guilty verdict or

to set a new trial.

On a hot July night a few months later, Stanley Hill, then twenty, walked to a bowling alley near his home hoping to hear a band that sometimes plays in the bar there. Before the night was over he too was arrested and charged with raping a twenty-two-year-old white woman.

Like the jury that tried his brother, the one that tried Stanley Hill didn't like Black people. One juror said, "I think 80 percent of 'em are no good, lazy bastards."

It took only nine hours for this jury to decide that Stanley Hill was guilty of rape.

The Hill family has not given up. Gloria Hill, the sister of the two frame-up victims, has organized the Hill Family Defense Committee. Gloria Hill and other committee activists have been speaking throughout the Minneapolis-St. Paul area to gather support for the Hill brothers.

The committee is seeking a new trial for both frame-up victims and is also petitioning for their release on bail.

As the truth about these cases gets out, support for the Hill brothers grows. Early last month the St. Paul chapter of the National Organization for Women voted to support the defense and to organize a special committee with NOW to work on it.

More recently, at a forum sponsored by the Hill Family Defense Committee, representatives of NOW, University of Minnesota Community Feminists, and Women for Racial and Economic Equality spoke in defense of Lynnard and Stanley Hill, calling for new trials.

For more information or to send contributions to the defense write: Hill Family Defense Committee, 500 Laurel Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota; Telephone: (612) 222-7261.

Jail guards beat Mohawk; judge does nothing

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Murder frame-up victim Richard Mohawk was beaten by prison guards, deprived for forty-eight hours of his right to act as his own counsel, and placed in solitary confinement.

Along with co-defendant Paul Skyhorse, Mohawk had won the right to act as his own attorney, even though he is also represented by associate counsels.

In the Los Angeles County Jail on the night of August 30, Mohawk was in his cell trying to warm a glass of coffee with a match.

Suddenly guards burst in, shouting that he was trying to set fire to the cell. They put him up against the wall and began ransacking his legal papers.

Previously, Skyhorse and Mohawk had obtained a court order denying prison authorities the right to go through their papers except in their presence. When Mohawk tried to tell the guards this, they responded by punching him and putting him in solitary overnight.

A sheriff's deputy advised co-counsel Dianne Orr that Mohawk's rights as a defendant acting as his own attorney were cancelled.

Denial of these rights meant Mohawk could not use the prison law library or its telephone. He could not consult with witnesses or have the use of a legal runner.

In court the next day, Mohawk, with a substantial cut on his upper lip, asked Judge Floyd Dodson to intervene.

Dodson conceded that the prison officials were not following legal procedure. He said they could suspend a



PAUL SKYHORSE (left) and RICHARD MOHAWK

Julie Evening Lilly

prisoner's attorney rights for up to forty-eight hours for an infraction of prison rules—provided they obtained an order from the court to do so.

Although the judge explained that he had no formal request for such an order, he nonetheless refused to intervene.

The defense protested that while the judge was declining to act, Mohawk was being denied his rights. With no attempt to conceal his bitter hostility to the defendants, Judge Dodson belittled back that Mohawk's right to act as his own attorney "can be withdrawn permanently!" Later he announced that he will hold a hearing on

a sheriff's department request to do just that.

This incredible new victimization came during a difficult week for Mohawk and Skyhorse as their trial enters its fourth month. The prosecution has still not produced a shred of physical evidence or hint of motive to bolster its charge that Skyhorse and Mohawk murdered cabdriver George Aird at a campsite in 1974.

The only witnesses against them are people originally charged with the murder who were released after swearing that the two American Indian Movement activists were the killers.

With such a flimsy case, the prosecu-

tion has sought to focus on matters prejudicial to the defense. For example, the prosecutor has now introduced evidence that when Paul Skyhorse was first arrested he feigned insanity. Skyhorse later said quite frankly that he did so in order to be placed in a hospital where he might have a chance to escape.

Discussing this admission, defense attorney Leonard Weinglass pointed out that Skyhorse was intent on escaping because his own previous experience had convinced him that American Indians—even though totally innocent—have little reason to expect justice in U.S. courts.

Following this defense admission the prosecution brought to the stand Marilyn Skyhorse, Paul's wife.

A tape recording was played for the jury in which she told a police investigator she had seen her husband at the scene of the murder. But, she had insisted to the investigator, she had not seen her husband's face, only a figure in the shadows wearing a coat that she recognized as his.

Now, on the witness stand, Marilyn Skyhorse had testified that she has no positive way of knowing that it was Paul Skyhorse. She adds that she is absolutely convinced of his innocence. Poised and calm, she has maintained this during an entire week of harsh, intensive grilling by the prosecutor.

The defense had sought a ruling that Marilyn Skyhorse not be required to testify on the ground that a wife cannot be compelled to testify against her husband. But the court ruled they were not legally man and wife.

Why?

Because they were married in an Indian ceremony.

'Women Artists: 1550-1950'

Women Artists, 1550-1950. An exhibition of art works compiled by Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, now at the Carnegie Institute of Art, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Book published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1976. 368 pages, \$8.95.

A special art show may be coming to your area: "Women Artists 1550-1950" is just ending a two-month stay at the Carnegie Institute of Art in Pittsburgh. More than 150 works of art by women reveal historically unrecognized talents; reflect the classes from which they come, often the social issues with which they have been concerned; and acquaint us with scores of artists whom most of us probably never heard of before.

Women artists were often the daughters of artists prior to the nineteenth century. According to the

Books

show's accompanying brochure, in the fifteenth century less than ten women were recorded as artists throughout Europe. Even much later, women artists ceased being so after they married.

The volume of works and the subject matter went through a dramatic change during the nineteenth century. The voluptuous still life that characterized the earlier period gave way to action and working-class themes. Sobriety replaced the adulation and blissful, zephyr quality of the earlier art.

One provocative painting titled *The Young Husband: First Marketing* was painted by an American, Lily Martin Spencer, in 1854. We see a young man encumbered by a market basket from which have toppled carrots and eggs, and he is trying to save two chickens from the same fate; while in the background another man and woman are passing and snickering at his predicament. It is of a much different nature from most painting that had appeared before. Knowing as we do that marketing was traditionally done by women, one wonders what kind of a commentary on "women's work" Spencer was attempting.

Kathe Kollwitz, the twentieth-century German



The Young Husband: First Marketing by Lily Martin Spencer, 1854.

artist, is represented by her somber charcoals. Also, there is the warm, appealing art of the American, Mary Cassatt. Her paintings shown here are all of mothers and children. There is a haunting painting by Paula Modersohn-Becker, titled *Old Woman from the Poorhouse* (1903), painted when the artist was twenty-seven years old, shortly before her own death.

In the 1920's and 1930's the art began to assume a surreal and abstract quality; the style was no longer realistic, but now enigmatic and far less comprehensible.

Especially noticeable in this show of women's art

is the absence of the glorification of war.

My own special preference would have included other works by Kathe Kollwitz besides her self-portrait, one of the many that she did, and *Homework* (1909) of a child asleep at a table. These pieces do not give the viewer much insight into Kollwitz' politics, which other works indicate very clearly. She was vehemently opposed to World War I, even before it claimed the life of her son, Peter; she worked for the repeal of anti-abortion laws in Germany; and in 1924 she gave her support to the Scientific Humanitarian Committee, which called for the removal of homosexual acts from criminal status.

Her lithographs, etchings, and drawings are distinct statements of her strong maternal feelings, the oppression of children, women, the miseries of capitalism. Her working-class consciousness deepened as she grew older, and it is all reflected in her art.

Absent from this show was a genuine geographic representation of women artists. There were none from the Middle East or Africa and only one Hispanic, Frida Kahlo, Mexican, whose *Portrait of Frida and Diego* (1931) was included. Kahlo was married to Diego Rivera for a time, and was a friend of André Breton. It is interesting, perhaps, to note that she was visited by Breton and Leon Trotsky at her home near Coyoacán in 1938. A streetcar accident when Kahlo was fifteen destroyed her plans to enter the medical profession. Much of her work reflects the anger and the physical pain she suffered for the rest of her life.

I think it is just cause for exuberance to see an art show devoted exclusively to the work of women, at the same time making one painfully aware that the artistic achievements of women have been systematically ignored for at least four centuries.

The show moves on to the Brooklyn Museum beginning October 8, then to the Los Angeles Museum of Art in December, and to the University of Texas at Austin in April 1978.

The contents of this exhibit are also compiled in a book of the same name, with ample commentary.

—Martha Harris

Shankerism has roots too

Teachers Under Attack; An alternative to the 'business unionism' of Albert Shanker by Jeff Mackler. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, 1977. 31 pages, \$.50.

Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s teachers around the country made impressive gains in salaries and working conditions. New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., became centers of teacher militancy. The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) entered a phase of rapid growth.

It appeared to most teachers that this upward trend would continue forever. Albert Shanker, president of the New York City local and, since

Pamphlets

1974, president of the AFT, was widely regarded as the key architect of teachers' successes.

In 1975 Shanker's huge New York local, along with other city public employee unions, was hit by unprecedented massive cutbacks. More than 60,000 city employees, including some 12,000 teachers and 9,000 non-teacher school employees, were laid off.

Teacher activists interested in understanding the setbacks suffered by their union will find *Teachers Under Attack* by Jeff Mackler an indispensable source of background information on Shankerism and the roots of his policies.

Jeff Mackler is the organizer and former vice-

Erich Martel is an activist in the Washington Teachers Union, AFT Local 6, and a leader of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education.

president of the Hayward, California, Federation of Teachers. He was a member of the UFT in New York City from 1966 to 1970 and was elected to the UFT delegate assembly. He was chairperson of the New Coalition Caucus in the UFT, which defended Black and Puerto Rican community control of schools and defied the racist 1968 strike. He is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

Mackler is a frequent contributor to the *Militant* on problems facing teachers, but this pamphlet is made up of completely new material not published before.

Teachers Under Attack exposes the roots of Shanker's self-defeating contempt for the Black and Puerto Rican communities. It traces this contempt back to the 1967 one-week strike over the "disruptive child" issue and the 1968 nine-week strike against the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Black community.

These strikes effectively severed the existing alliance between the teachers union and Black and Latino parents. Previously, when the union claimed that "teachers want what students need," it readily received the support of minority parents, who saw the racist board of education as their common enemy. But henceforth, according to Shanker, the school board—along with city and state Democratic and Republican politicians—were the union's "friends," while the communities of the oppressed became the union's enemies.

And, unfortunately, this same strategy—reliance on favors from the Democratic and Republican politicians and opposition to the demands of the Black and Latino communities—is bearing the same fruit in Philadelphia, Boston, and wherever else it is followed.

Once one grasps these policies of Shanker, dating back more than a decade, it comes as no surprise to see Shanker oppose desegregation and busing, refuse to defend affirmative action in face of discriminatory layoffs, denounce "racism in reverse" affirmative-action quotas for minorities and women in higher education, and oppose bilingual-bicultural education.

Mackler contrasts Shanker's policies to those of Ed Sadlowski, the recent Steelworkers Fight Back candidate for president of the United Steelworkers of America. Sadlowski called for a union leadership responsible to rank-and-file workers and not in cahoots with industry owners. Shanker used his union-paid column in the *New York Times* to denounce Sadlowski.

Mackler concludes with an important section: "How teachers can fight back." He points to the need for unity between the AFT and National Education Association (NEA). Too much money and time is now being wasted on mutual raiding operations.

In the crucial area of political action, Mackler urges teachers to break the hold of the Democratic and Republican parties over their unions. He proposes that teachers unions begin running candidates of their own as an important first step toward all unions uniting to form an independent labor party, based on and controlled by the trade unions.

Over 150 copies of this pamphlet were sold at the July 1977 NEA convention; 314 were bought by delegates to the August 1977 AFT convention. After reading the pamphlet, many delegates approached Mackler and said, "Now I finally understand what Shanker is all about."

—Erich Martel

...CLUW

Continued from page 13

decision—CLUW must once again come to grips with this issue.

A second challenge to CLUW has been the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment. CLUW has always supported the ERA, but has followed the basic strategy of the AFL-CIO and NOW—lobbying and other methods of reliance on the promises of politicians, as opposed to direct action in the streets.

An important exception to this was CLUW's support to the May 16, 1976, national march for the ERA in Illinois. Several local chapters actively built the march, which had the largest turnout of labor contingents of any women's liberation protest before or since.

But following the success of May 16, CLUW officials did little to encourage local chapters to continue this kind of visible, public activity. In fact, the more conservative forces opposed further work in action-oriented ERA coalitions.

More often than not, CLUW has fallen into the trap of tailoring the bankrupt policies of the labor bureaucracy, rather than fighting around the most pressing needs of women workers and mobilizing these women and their unions in action.

The results are known to all CLUW members. The membership of CLUW has declined. Many local CLUW chapters have become relatively inactive. Some have been dissolved.

But the decline in CLUW activity is out of harmony with the aspirations and needs of women in the unions. Important developments since the last CLUW convention indicate the opportunities today to build CLUW.

In the Steelworkers union, for example, the recent campaign of Ed Sadlowski for president brought to the fore the desire of many steelworkers—women and men—for union democracy, and for a new kind of union based on an uncompromising program of fighting back against the attacks of the steel industry.

A second development is the general increase of women's struggles as the government's attacks on women mount. CLUW can take note that thousands of women trade unionists, many on their own, have attended the IWY conferences, looking for a way to take on the government offensive and defend their rights.

The increase of feminist activity offers CLUW the opportunity to enhance its influence through coalition with other groups, especially NOW, which is attracting many working women to its ranks who can also be won to CLUW. There are also new opportunities for CLUW to work with local women's committees in the unions.

By reaffirming the perspective contained in its statement of purpose, and developing a program of action to implement that statement, CLUW can become a force both within the unions and within the feminist movement. By campaigning to reverse the *Bakke* decision; by organizing the unions to back abortion rights and pro-ERA activities; by bringing labor contingents to the November IWY conference, CLUW can begin to attract the young working women seeking leadership today.

...auto

Continued from page 16

The right to strike over local issues, control over line speed, and the closing of plants that are unsafe or overheated are important demands. Struggles for such demands are necessary, but episodic wildcats cannot substitute for a strategy to win back membership control of the union in the fight against the capitalist offensive.

UAW President Douglas Fraser seemed to hint at something like this

in his Labor Day message. He said, "We must enhance the self-esteem of workers, minorities, the disadvantaged and, indeed, all 'ordinary' people by giving them a sense of genuine involvement and responsibility—and capability to participate and to count—to make a difference in the political life of this nation."

It would have been more appropriate if he had called for greater rank-and-file participation in the political life of this union.

But Fraser was not thinking about how to "enhance the self-esteem of workers" in the building of working-class organizations. He was urging them to seek salvation in the Democratic Party, a capitalist-class organization.

As long as the UAW leadership remains tied to the Democratic Party it hampers the defense of workers' rights. For the program of the Democratic Party is defense of profits above the needs of the workers.

Auto militants should take the initiative in building a leadership that sees every immediate struggle as part of larger social and political issues. This leadership will see that under capitalism the disregard of the auto companies for the welfare of workers is natural since their only goal is profits.

Such a leadership will also put on the agenda of the UAW breaking with the Democratic Party and building an independent labor party that struggles in the interest of all workers.

...red-bait

Continued from page 23

charge. Like all other Clamshell members, they say, socialists participate in the antinuclear movement because they believe that atomic power is "dangerous and threatens the future existence of all humanity."

Like other Clamshell activists, SWP members also have ideas about how best to win new adherents to the antinuclear fight. "We believe that the majority of the American people can put a halt to this threat by mobilizing independently in the streets, through rallies, marches, picket lines, and teach-ins," McCutcheon and Cohen say.

And—again like other Clamshell activists—SWP members have ideas and opinions on a broad range of issues aside from nuclear power.

"The antinuclear movement has an anticapitalist thrust because it puts people before profits," McCutcheon and Cohen write. "Ultimately only a socialist society based on human needs will totally end the use of nuclear power.... We would encourage other Clamshell members who agree with us to join the Socialist Workers Party."

But trying to convince people of a socialist perspective does not mean, as Conason asserts, that the SWP wants to impose "orthodoxy" on the Clamshell Alliance. To the contrary, McCutcheon and Cohen write, "What is needed now and will be needed in the future is an organization that everyone who opposes nuclear power can join, no matter what their beliefs on other issues....

"The Clamshell Alliance is that organization that can lead the way to building a massive and powerful movement to save humanity from nuclear disaster, and we encourage those who haven't already joined Clamshell to do so."

It is only natural among activists in the Clamshell Alliance that there will be much lively discussion.

Such democratic discussion can only strengthen Clamshell, helping it hammer out the best possible strategy and tactics, and attracting to it people from many different viewpoints.

Red-baiting, on the other hand, weakens the antinuclear fight. That is why those committed to building the antinuclear movement should reject the methods of insinuation and distortion used by Conason.

Calendar

ALBUQUERQUE

NUCLEAR ENERGY: CORPORATE POWER. Panel discussion; speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. Student Union Bldg. UNM Room 231B. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP, YSA. For more information call (505) 256-1796.

CLEVELAND

STEELWORKERS' STRIKE ON THE MESABI IRON RANGE: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Andy Rose, *Militant* staff writer. Sun., Sept. 25, 7 p.m. 2300 Payne. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 861-4166.

DALLAS

TEXAS FARM WORKERS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE. A slide presentation and talk by a member of the Dallas Farm Worker Support Committee. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 2215 Cedar Crest. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (214) 943-6684.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

THE DANGERS OF NUCLEAR POWER. Speakers: Paul Schaefer, Kansas City People's Energy Project; Bob Kutchko, SWP. Fri., Sept. 23, 7:30 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

LOS ANGELES: CRENSHAW

WHY SOCIALISTS FAVOR BUSING. Speaker: Sam Manuel, SWP National Committee. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 2167 W. Washington Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

LOUISVILLE

DEFEND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION! Speakers: Annabelle Newton, IUE 761; Liz Jayko, SWP; others. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 1505 W. Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

WHAT'S BEHIND THE PANAMA AGREEMENT? Speakers: Michael Kelly, SWP; others. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 786 Amsterdam Ave. (98th St.) Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND, CA.

UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS AND THE CARTER IMMIGRATION PLAN. Panel of speakers on the problems of undocumented workers and the deportations carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Also, music and the film *The Unwanted*. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. Laney College, 900 Fallon. Ausp: Raza Contra La Migra Committee. For more information call (415) 536-5877 or 845-8497.

PITTSBURGH

STEELWORKERS' STRIKE ON THE MESABI IRON RANGE: AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT. Speaker: Andy Rose, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 5504 Penn Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 441-1419.

ST. LOUIS: NORTHSIDE

CARTER'S WELFARE PROGRAM. Speaker: Ed Warren, SWP; Aaron Hatch, SCAR; others. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 4875 Natural Bridge. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 381-0044.

ST. PAUL

CONTROL DATA & THE COMMUNITY. Speakers: Walter Robinson, Dist. 8, community council; James T. Shelton, community resident; Rev. James Battle, Mt. Olivet Baptist Church; Gary Peitler, HRA; David Jones, community resident who is being relocated; Susan Rogers, Minnesota Committee on Southern Africa; Libby Moser, SWP. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. Reformation Lutheran Church (corner of Oxford & Laurel). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 222-8929.

SAN DIEGO

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM: MEXICO & AZTLAN. Speaker: Ternot Macrenato, chairperson, Chicano Studies Department, San Diego City College; representative, SWP; Duane Fernandez, SCAR. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. 1053 15th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SPEAKOUT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS! An evening of support for lesbian and gay civil rights. Speakers: Leonard Matlovich, ex-sergeant, U.S. Air Force; Hilda Mason, D.C. City Council; Josephine Butler, D.C. Human Rights Commission; speakers from Feminist Law Collective, American Psychiatric Association, NOW, National Action Center, others. Fri., Sept. 23, 8 p.m. St. Stephen & the Incarnate Church, 16th and Newton, NW. Ausp: Dialogue for Human Rights. For more information call (202) 232-3915.

Chicanos demand investigation of tortures of Mexican workers

By José Bracamonte

More than a year has passed since three undocumented Mexicans were tortured just five miles west of Douglas, Arizona, along the U.S.-Mexican border.

Although three Anglos were indicted

José Bracamonte is a resident of Douglas, Arizona, now attending law school at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

ed, no one has stood trial, prompting *mexicanos* to seek a federal investigation.

Manuel García Loya, Eleazar Ruelas Zavala, and Bernabe Herrera Mata entered the United States August 18, 1976, in search of farm work. While making their way through the desert they were accosted at gunpoint by three Anglos.

The Anglos bound the *mexicanos* hand and foot and cut off their clothes. One *mexicano* suffered cuts on an ear, another in the genital area. The Anglos branded one *campesino*'s foot with a steel rod heated in a fire.

The youngest victim was untied, ordered to run, then sprayed with bird shot. The Anglos beat another victim with a rifle butt and then shot him. They hung the third victim in a nearby ravine—he managed to survive by supporting his body against the ravine wall.

A grand jury indicted George Hangan, a wealthy Anglo rancher, and his two sons with the crime. But since then there has been an endless stream of delays.

What particularly worries *mexicano* residents of the area is the blatant anti-Mexican, "illegal alien" hysteria surrounding the case.

A local newspaper, the *Douglas Dispatch*, tried to justify the sadistic crimes. An article purporting to give area residents' reactions to the torture was nothing more than complaints and diatribes against undocumented immigrants. For example, one Anglo resident said he "could understand

how people could be provoked after being burglarized so many times."

Another article—"Break-ins Rile Area Residents"—quoted Border Patrol Supervisor Drexel Atkinson, who explained, "Every illegal alien is a potential burglar."

Although Douglas is 75 percent *mexicano*, not one *mexicano*'s "reaction" was reported by the press.

The Office of the County Prosecutor has come under sharp criticism for its lackluster prosecution of the Anglo torturers. For example, the original indictment was quashed because no official interpreter was on hand to translate grand jury testimony.

To cut through this racist hysteria and the stalling tactics of local officials, La Raza National Law Student Association has established a National Committee of Concern to mobilize public opinion against this travesty of justice.

The committee is seeking a Justice Department investigation and is encouraging people to write Cochise County and Douglas officials demanding prompt and effective prosecution. Among those who have already written are UFW President César Chávez; Zavala County, Texas, Judge José Angel Gutiérrez; and antideportation leader Bert Corona.

Correction

Three errors were made in the news story in the *Militant* September 2 reporting on the demonstration against nuclear power that took place at Diablo Canyon last month.

The demonstration took place August 7, not August 6. Diablo Canyon is located halfway between Los Angeles and San Francisco, not between Los Angeles and San Onofre.

It was also incorrectly reported that forty-six people had occupied the site of the proposed nuclear power plant. In fact forty-six people were arrested for trespassing during the rally that took place at the site. There was no occupation of the site.

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A sampling of sketches by Copain. Published in 1974 to help celebrate the tenth anniversary of Intercontinental Press.

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New York

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Gramma Bookstore, 3264 Adeline St., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 653-7156.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.

Los Angeles, Crenshaw District: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2167 W. Washington Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP, YSA, 1250 Wilshire Blvd., Room 404, Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 482-1820.

Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1053 15th St., San Diego, Calif. 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, 10510 Haddon St., Pacoima, Calif. 91331. Tel: (213) 899-5811.

San Francisco: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3004 16th St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111. Tel: (415) 626-6288.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Liberia Socialista, 3284 23rd St., San Francisco, Calif. 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992.

San Francisco, Western Addition: SWP, 2320 Pine St., San Francisco, Calif. 94115. Tel: (415) 567-1811.

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Stop deportations!

N.M. Raza Unida candidate tackles national issues

By Harry Ring

LAS VEGAS, N. Mex.—Juan José Peña is convinced that in order for Chicanos to win their liberation they must forge their own political party.

For the past six years he has been a central figure in building such a party here in New Mexico—the Raza Unida Party.

Director of the ethnic studies department at the University of New Mexico Highlands campus here, Peña spends just about all of his non-teaching time working to build the *partido*.

Now his schedule will be even more intense. Peña has accepted the New Mexico Raza Unida nomination for U.S. senator.

The election will not be held until November 1978, but he plans to be on the campaign trail a good year before the elections.

In an interview at his campus office, Peña discussed some of the issues he intends to project in the campaign.

As the candidate for senator, Peña said, he will tend to emphasize national and international issues. He will explain why many seemingly "local" issues can only be understood and solved in that broader context.

He stressed that there must be a reordering of national priorities. The billions spent on bombers should be reallocated for a massive public works program. If that were done, he argued, a job could be provided for each person who needs one.

He doesn't think this will be easily achieved. "Apparently," he said, "neither Congress nor President Carter is willing to put that money into jobs."

Commenting on Carter's professed concern for human rights, Peña focused on the right of people to emigrate freely from Mexico, and the efforts of the Carter administration to clamp down on "illegal" immigration.

The administration, he said, is now seeking the cooperation of the Mexican government to more tightly control the flow of migration from that country.

"They have to find some way," Peña said, "to get Mexico to keep its people in Mexico. Otherwise the situation, as they see it, will get out of hand. There have been statements made to the effect that the entire life-style—language, schools, customs, food—could all be changed by a massive



Peña speaking at rally in Rio Arriba County earlier this year

Militant/Cindy McCarver

influx of *mexicanos*. So they're trying to get Mexico's cooperation, so the United States can maintain the status quo. They want to keep the Chicano and Latino community from becoming explosive."

What position will he take on this issue?

As a basic solution, Peña responded, he would favor a reordering of the economy. Use the money now being poured into war preparations instead to provide necessary social services, build mass transit systems, and clean up the environment. Do these necessary things, he said, "and we'll find we have a labor shortage. We'll need immigration."

And, he continued, "we should work toward erasing the borders we now have with the Latin American countries. Immigration quotas should be scrapped.

"The people who are here now," he added, "should be given a choice. If they want to become citizens, they should immediately be made citizens. If they wish to stay just to work, they should be given work permits.

"This would remove them from their present 'illegal' status, and they could begin to interact with people and contribute what they are able to society, rather than having to hide from society."

Noting the present increased border sweeps, Peña said, "These massive deportations need to be stopped immediately. There needs to be a program of

total amnesty—but not 'amnesty' in the sense of being pardoned for a crime.

"Eventually," he added, "the United States should negotiate agreements to allow freedom of movement across borders, without quotas and without passports. I would see this as a move toward the eventual unification of the Americas as a continent."

New Mexico conference set

By Neil Berns

ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex.—The Conference Committee on Immigration and Social Impact has announced that it will hold a statewide conference here October 8-9.

Manuel Archuleta, conference committee spokesperson and Raza Unida Party candidate for lieutenant governor of New Mexico, said the committee "unconditionally supports the rights of undocumented workers and demands that the federal government stop the deportations

now." Archuleta explained that the committee is part of the national effort focused around the Chicano/Latino conference to be held in San Antonio October 28-30.

Further information on the New Mexico committee and conference can be obtained from 511 Iron Street, SW, Albuquerque, New Mexico 87102, telephone (505) 247-3068; or 166 Bridge Street, Las Vegas, New Mexico 87701, telephone (505) 425-7511 extension 275.

Attend the Chicano/Latino conference

"A crisis for all Spanish surnamed persons within the US of A is rapidly approaching. The very same man our Raza supported for the presidency, now seeks to deport us. . . . We should have a working conference to draft a Latino agenda on our needs."

—José Angel Gutiérrez

During August alone, 'la migra' arrested 35,000 people as "illegal aliens" in the San Diego area—an all-time record. Now is the time for all supporters of human rights to plan a response to this stepped-up harassment and deportation of undocumented workers. That's what the national conference is all about.

- I endorse the National Chicano/Latino Conference on Immigration and Public Policy.
- Please send me more information on the conference.
- Enclosed is a donation of \$ _____. (Funds urgently needed.)

Name _____

Address _____

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International Committee on Immigration and Public Policy, 1927 West Commerce Street, San Antonio, Texas 78807. Phone: (512) 227-1220.

San Antonio - Texas - October 28-30